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# The Canadian Historical Review

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THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS  
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# The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. XV

TORONTO, DECEMBER, 1934

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## A FALLACY IN CANADIAN HISTORY

NOTWITHSTANDING the loud-voiced assertions of supporters and opponents of the Church of England in Lower and Upper Canada or the administrative acts of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in London, it is fallacious to suppose that the church was ever established in either province. It was endowed, ostensibly, by parliament, in 1791; and, after permission given by the same body in 1853, it was disendowed in 1854 by the Canadian legislature, which are two very different matters.

Not endowments, property, support of the clergy, and a share in the government of a province or of its municipalities are the essential points in an establishment, after all, but rather beliefs, doctrine, discipline, forms of worship and of orders. This becomes abundantly evident from a study of the imperial Act of Union, 1706, the act of the governor and legislature of Nova Scotia, which established, in 1758, the church in that province, and the similar act of 1786, passed in New Brunswick.

In the act of 1706,<sup>1</sup> by which effect was given to the treaty for uniting Scotland with England, there was no mention at all of endowments or of property of any kind, though a considerable quantum of both was necessarily involved in the two kingdoms. Concerning doctrine and the like, on the other hand, a great deal was said in article 25.

Section 3 of this article secured to Scotland its established church, with its "Confession of Faith", to which professors of the four universities as well as the parochial clergy were under obligation to subscribe. This carried with it of necessity the Presbyterian form of government by kirk sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assembly. Of no member of the church was any civil oath to be required which should run counter to the Confes-

<sup>1</sup>The text of this act and of the others cited can be consulted in the library of Osgoode Hall, to the librarian of which I express grateful appreciation for the courtesies extended to me.

sion, a provision which, by the way, was to have its repercussions presently in the burgher and anti-burgher subdivisions of the seceders.

This establishment was for Scotland alone, which had practically no colonies. Yet the church's ministers in the Canadas tried, in 1828, to make it appear that "all other rights", mentioned in article 4, dealing with "freedom of trade", included those of a religious and ecclesiastical nature in the colonies, in spite of the fact that the words were limited both by the nature of the section in which they occurred and by those immediately following them—"except where it is otherwise expressly agreed in these Articles". The fact that this "express agreement" was contained in article 25, which has been already summarized, was not made prominent by the ministers.<sup>2</sup>

Article 25's much more lengthy section 7 secured in like manner to England, without mention of temporalities, its form of the Protestant religion. In it was made recital of the substance of an act, passed also in 1706, *for securing the Church of England as by law established*. In particular, too, were confirmed the acts of the 13 Elizabeth and the 13 Charles II.

The former of these acts provided, as was duly set forth, for "the Ministers of our Church to be of sound religion"; the latter, "for the Uniformity of the Publick Prayers and Administration of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies, and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in the Church of England (other than such Clauses in the said acts, or either of them, as have been repealed or altered by any subsequent Act or Acts of Parliament)". "All and singular other acts of Parliament now in force for the Establishment and Preservation of the Church of England, and the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government thereof", it was stated, "shall remain and be in full Force for ever".

This section, on which three Bishops of Quebec rested their case for the church in the Canadas before John Strachan's consecration, in 1839, as first Bishop of Toronto, appears to have been interpreted from 1706 onwards as applying, so far as circumstances required, to the establishments set up within the then preceding century by the legislatures of some of the old colonies—Bermuda, Jamaica, other West Indian Islands, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas.<sup>3</sup> They, with the colonies whose legislatures had not

<sup>2</sup>See their clever "Pastoral letter" in the *Canadian miscellany* for April, 1828.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. E. B. O'Callaghan, *Documents relative to the colonial history of the State of New York* (Albany, 1856), VII, 361, 365.

established the church, were regarded as expansions of England; and, being all without bishops of their own down to 1783, 1784, or 1787,<sup>4</sup> they were held to be under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London and to form accordingly parts of the province of Canterbury.

For the majority of the colonies, regardless of their having, or not having, establishments, royal instructions in matters ecclesiastical as well as civil were issued to governors. Under these instructions the governor, lieutenant-governor, or administrator possessed the right of presentation or of institution to livings, if not both, whether there was, or was not, active a commissary representing the Bishop of London. Without reference to the commissary, wherever there was one, his excellency also issued marriage licences and letters of probate or of administration to wills, all of which were in England functions of the ecclesiastics. These departures from English practice were continued in the instructions given to governors of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Quebec.

Generally speaking, rectors in colonies where the legislatures had established the church enjoyed glebes, which too the S.P.G. (the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts) endeavoured always to induce congregations, or parishes, to provide in the colonies which had no establishment. In some of the former provision was made also for annual salaries payable out of the local rates, which were struck by the wardens and vestries acting as municipal councils. These were enforceable against "dissenting" ratepayers, who possessed, however, the right to vote in the elections of wardens and were eligible, it would seem, to stand for election themselves.<sup>5</sup>

Farther than this establishment (and endowment) could not go, even though the legislature of North Carolina sought to make the clergy of that province yet more dependent on the ratepayers by passing for only one year at a time the act authorizing the

<sup>4</sup>This jurisdiction ceased, of course, in 1783, so far as the then newly acknowledged United States were concerned. On November 14, 1784, Dr. Samuel Seabury was consecrated by three non-jurant Scottish bishops as Bishop of Connecticut. On February 4, 1787, Drs. White and Provoost were consecrated, in the English succession, for Pennsylvania and New York; and on August 12, 1787, Dr. Charles Inglis, U.E., for Nova Scotia.

<sup>5</sup>S.P.G. journals (MSS.) and letters (MSS.) in the society's archives in London. Cf. also *The official records of Robert Dinwiddie, lieutenant-governor of the colony of Virginia, 1751-1758* (Virginia Historical Society collections, III-IV); A. L. Cross, *The Anglican episcopate and the American colonies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924); Archbishop Henry Lowther Clarke, *Constitutional government in the dominions beyond the seas and other parts of the Anglican communion* (London, 1924); Claude Jenkins and K. D. Mackenzie, *Episcopacy ancient and modern* (London, 1930).

support out of the local rates. Despite such vagaries in one or another of the colonies, the rectors were so well content that they became objects of envy to some of their unbeneficed brethren in the more northerly colonies, as the S.P.G. correspondence reveals.<sup>6</sup> So content were the Virginian rectors that they declined roundly to join in petitions to King George III for the appointment of bishops in the colonies. Neither they nor the governors wanted to have any interference with their rights and privileges. If they were "Parson Broadbents", they did not wish to have any inquiry made into their personal habits and conduct.

The whole system, in the case of thirteen of the continental colonies, came definitely to an end in 1776, when they declared themselves to be the United States of America. It persists more or less entire, however, in some of the insular colonies, notably in Barbados—under the superintendence of bishops.

The "old" northerly colonies had, in the opinion of many of the S.P.G.'s missionaries—and of some of the authorities in England—carried through successfully the Rebellion of 1774-82 largely because of the non-establishment of the church in them. In New England another cause of success had been, they thought, the virtual establishment of the Independents in that quarter, members of the church being compelled, till relief was afforded them upon receipt of special instructions from England, to contribute, through the local rates, to the support of the Congregationalist form of worship.

By way of contrast to these older colonies, whose inhabitants had been not too well pleased at the restoration of Cape Breton to France, under the treaty of 1748, the church was established by the legislature of Nova Scotia in its first session in 1758, the year of the recapture of Louisbourg and the ninth after the founding of Halifax. Its St. Paul's Church, which a generous king had built and equipped, was given as the reason for the introduction of the bill, which is known now as 32 George II, c. 5. Nova Scotia.

Following in the main the lines of section 25 of the imperial Act of Union, 1706, the statute dealt solely with matters of doctrine, worship, rites, ceremonies, discipline, and the like. In consonance with the second part of its title, "for supressing Popery", which, in view of the expulsion of the Acadians and of the war then waging, is regrettably intelligible, it ordained that

<sup>6</sup>This voluminous correspondence has been copied for the Library of Congress at Washington. Some of it has been published, more or less unsatisfactorily, in the late Bishop W. S. Perry's *Historical collections relating to the American colonial church* (Hartford, 1870-8).

all Roman Catholic priests should immediately depart the province, and it appointed heavy penalties for non-compliance and for all persons who should harbour offenders. On the other hand, it secured liberty of conscience and full toleration to "Protestant Dissenters—Calvinists, Lutherans, Quakers", and all other denominations whatsoever, excusing them "from any rates or taxes to be made and levied for the support of the established Church of England".

The amount of the rates was left by the provincial act, 33 George II, c. 2, to the determination of church wardens and vestries, the mode of whose election was duly detailed. Against the assessment, for the striking of which the agreement of at least seven vestrymen, in a quorum of the same number, was necessary, right of appeal lay to the magistrates at their next ensuing Sessions of the Peace. Once fixed, the rates were collectable by the wardens, by process of law, after the lapse of one month from the due date.

In the very first session of the legislature of New Brunswick, which was held in 1786, like care was taken for "preserving the Church of England as by Law established in this Province, and for securing Liberty of Conscience in matters of Religion".<sup>7</sup> "Persons admitted to Parsonages, etc." had to be ordained "according to the form and manner by Law established in the said Church of England". Unless they had "some lawful impediment, to be allowed and approved of by the Governor or Commander in Chief for the time being", holders of benefices were under obligation to read prayers once in every month at least (!) and, "if there be occasion", to administer the sacraments, under a penalty of five pounds, which was to inure to the benefit of the poor of the parish. Use of "any other form of Prayer, etc. than those prescribed in the Liturgy" rendered a parson liable to prosecution "in the Supreme Court, or in any court of Oyer and Terminer or Gaol Delivery in this Province". Conviction meant inhibition to officiate further and deprivation of the living, which his excellency or the commander-in-chief was empowered to fill up as though the offender were dead.

As in Nova Scotia, it was provided: "Dissenters shall have liberty of conscience, may build Meeting Houses and elect Ministers". Ministers, before being allowed to preach, had, however, to obtain the governor's licence and to take the "oath of fidelity". Failure to do either entailed, on conviction, the infliction of a fine

<sup>7</sup>26 George III, c. 4.



of £50 to £100, which went into the public treasury, or a sentence of imprisonment for a term of three to six months; but the conviction had to be obtained within six months of the commission of the offence. "Quakers", finally, were to be "allowed the exercise of Public Worship in the manner they are accustomed, any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding".

In a separate act of the same session<sup>8</sup> provision had been made for the erection of parishes in the various townships and counties. In 1789<sup>9</sup> the rectors, church wardens, and vestries were incorporated in the several parishes. Thus they were enabled automatically to take title to glebes, to hold and to deal with all kinds of property, to sue and be sued.

In the session of 1791, the statute on the subject of marriage and divorce<sup>10</sup> stated specifically that ministers of the Church of Scotland were to enjoy the privilege of solemnizing matrimony. So were Roman Catholic priests and Quakers, if in each instance the contracting parties were both of the same communion. Only in 1834 was the concession made to ministers of all the other denominations—on obtaining the governor's licence.

Judging from the provincial statutes of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, which were spread over a period of thirty-three years and came down to that in which the Canada Act was passed, it is legitimate to infer that the same kind of enactments, to be passed in the same fashion, were intended to follow up the intimation given to Governor Murray in 1763 regarding his majesty's intention to establish the church in the Province of Quebec. For the inaction in the matter during the intervening twenty-eight years' absence of legislative bodies of the kind operating in the Maritime Provinces, Sir Guy Carleton's deeming himself at liberty to disregard the royal instructions, both before and after becoming Lord Dorchester,<sup>11</sup> his Quebec Act, and the other "troubles" which led up to the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States furnish reason enough.

The Loyalists in the "upper country" of the province, which, at Christmastide, 1791, was to become Upper Canada, knew full well what was taking place among their fellows down by the sea. Accordingly they petitioned in 1787 for the establishment of both national churches side by side against the time that Quebec should

<sup>8</sup>26 George III, c. 1.

<sup>9</sup>29 George III, c. 1.

<sup>10</sup>31 George III, c. 5.

<sup>11</sup>A. H. Young, "Lord Dorchester and the Church of England" (Canadian Historical Association report, 1926, 60-5); *The Annual register* for 1774 and 1776.



be divided,<sup>12</sup> which also they desired. After four years of waiting, all that they received was the compromise Canada Act, 1791, which established neither church, although its fortieth section stopped just short of doing so in the case of the Church of England. Excepting the Clergy Reserves, it dealt only prospectively with the question of endowments. In so doing, it used terminology which, saving the one word "parishes", was inapplicable to the Church of Scotland.

To expect the preponderantly French and Roman Catholic legislative assembly of Lower Canada to initiate, or to concur in, legislation that should establish the Church of England was vain, despite the illusory hopes of protestantizing the whole population which found formal expression in the instructions issued to Carleton in 1775<sup>13</sup>—on the heels of the Quebec Act. From 1766 onwards Bishop Briand, the new founder of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec, had done his work too thoroughly and well. Equally vain was it to expect the mixed membership of the legislative assembly of Upper Canada, or even the legislative council, to take similar action in that province. Such an event might perhaps have been looked for, if only the home government and the S.P.G. had provided betimes parsons in as large numbers as, increasingly from 1784 onwards, the Methodists did.

Section 42 of the Canada Act, which seemed to imply that the provincial legislature, following the precedents of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, was to take the initiative, remained a dead letter. Yet it had its counterpart in section 42 of the Act of Union—of Lower and Upper Canada—which parliament passed in 1840. In it were ordered to be reserved for the approval or the disapproval of the queen, the lords, and the commons all bills bearing on ecclesiastical and crown rights or such "as shall in any Manner relate to or affect the Establishment or Discipline of the United Church of England and Ireland among the members thereof; or shall in any Manner relate to or affect Her Majesty's Prerogative touching the granting of Waste Lands of the Crown within the said province".

Till this inhibition and those contained in another act of the same session of parliament,<sup>14</sup> "to provide for the sale of the Clergy Reserves in the Province of Canada, and for the Distribution of the Proceeds thereof", were removed, it was impossible for the

<sup>12</sup>Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada* (Ottawa, 1918), II, 950.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, 602-5.

<sup>14</sup>3 & 4 Victoria, c. 78.

legislature to pass its confiscatory measure of 1854—for making “better provision for the appropriation of moneys arising from the Lands heretofore known as the Clergy Reserves, by rendering them available for Municipal purposes”. After May 9, 1853, the work of spoliation, under the guise of “secularization”, could proceed, for on that day the queen assented to the act<sup>16</sup> “to authorize the Legislature of the Province of Canada to make Provision concerning the Clergy Reserves in that Province, and the Proceeds thereof”. The one condition laid down was, that due safeguards for the vested rights of the Churches of England, Scotland, Rome, and Wesley should be provided.

Section 3 of the “secularizing” act of the legislature<sup>16</sup> envisaged, therefore, a system of commutation of the vested interests of both the Church of England<sup>17</sup> and the Church of Scotland, after stating that it was “desirable to remove all semblance of connection between Church and State, and to effect an entire and final disposition of all matters, claims, and interests arising out of the Clergy Reserves by as speedy a distribution of their proceeds as may be”. If this means disestablishment of the Church of England, as is popularly supposed, it means also disestablishment of those of Scotland, Rome, and Wesley. For the three last mentioned, few, if any, writers of repute have ever made such a claim but it can be made with just as fair, or unfair, show of reason as for the Church of England.

Between this church and the state, as a matter of fact, “all semblance of connection” was not removed by this confiscatory act of 1854, even though Lord Elgin had previously devolved upon the Church Society of Toronto his gubernatorial right of presentation to rectories. In the session of 1856-7 the legislature had to declare that it was permissible and perfectly legal for the church's representatives to meet in diocesan synods, as they had been doing at intervals since 1851. In 1857 the queen issued, as she and her predecessors had been doing since 1787, her *mandamus* for the consecration, at Lambeth Palace, of a Canadian prelate, Benjamin Cronyn, first (elected) Bishop of Huron. In 1861 she issued letters patent erecting the five dioceses of Quebec, Toronto, Montreal, Huron, and Ontario into an ecclesiastical province (Canada), independent of Canterbury, and naming as metropolitan

<sup>16</sup>16 Victoria, c. 21.

<sup>17</sup>17 Victoria, c. 2, Canada.

<sup>17</sup>Thus came into being the Clergy Commutation Trust Funds of the Dioceses of Toronto, Huron, Ontario, Niagara, and Ottawa, as well as the Temporalities Fund of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

of it the Right Rev. Francis Fulford, of Montreal. To him, in 1862 and 1863, she directed her mandamus to consecrate, in Canada, the two elected Bishops, Lewis (Ontario) and Williams (Quebec) respectively. Only on January 25, 1867 (the year of Confederation), did the last "semblance of connection between Church and State" disappear, when John Strachan, acting under mandamus from the provincial metropolitan, who could not be present on the occasion, presided at the consecration of his pupil, friend, and faithful fellow-worker, Alexander Neil Bethune, as his coadjutor and successor.

The incontrovertible fact that the "connection between Church and State" lasted for thirteen years after the passing of the legislature's act for "secularizing" the Clergy Reserves, is proof positive that by that act the Church of England in the Canadas was not disestablished. Nor could it be, seeing that, as has been shown, it had never been established. It was in large part disendowed, for what was endowed could be disendowed—on the express permission of the authors of the endowment, the sovereign and the other branches of the imperial parliament; but they, as has been pointed out, insisted upon regard being paid to vested rights.

As for the Clergy Reserves, it could easily be proved, if space permitted, that they were but a vast expansion of the generous idea which was put forward in the provision of glebes for the Maritime Provinces in 1749 and 1785<sup>18</sup> and in Canada in 1789.<sup>19</sup> For suggesting the Reserves part of the credit was claimed by the Right Rev. Charles Inglis, U.E., first Bishop of Nova Scotia and first colonial bishop in the empire, who, from his consecration in 1787 down to that of Dr. Jacob Mountain for Quebec in 1793, was bound by the terms of his appointment to administer the ecclesiastical affairs of the province in addition to those of his own diocese,<sup>20</sup> and who in 1789 held in the city of Quebec a visitation of his Canadian clergy.

This claim was made in a letter to Dr. Mountain, which is preserved in the diocesan archives at Quebec. Mountain it was who, at the first suggestion that the Church of Scotland, whose members felt resentment at being referred to as Presbyterians or

<sup>18</sup>S.P.G. letters: John Pownall (Lords of Trade) to the S.P.G., April 6, 1749. Also in *Report of the Public Archives of Canada*, 1894, 136. In S.P.G. letters and journals is found correspondence with Lord Sydney regarding glebes and salaries in New Brunswick.

<sup>19</sup>*Report of the Department of Public Records and Archives of Ontario*, 1928, 64-5.

<sup>20</sup>Besides Quebec were included in this arrangement New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and, presently, Bermuda.

as "Protestants Dissenters",<sup>21</sup> should enjoy a share of the Reserves, gave utterance to the declaration: "Government may provide for the Church of Scotland, if it will, but it shall not do so at the expense of the Church of England."

Finally, it has to be constantly remembered when discussing the questions of endowment and establishment that they were matters in which the whole colonial empire from 1606 onwards was interested, not the Canadas alone. The Colonial Office, with the advice of its ecclesiastical board, about which little is known, and with that of the S.P.G., was trying honestly, though tardily at times, to devise and to work out practically an ecclesiastical policy that should be fairly applicable to all the colonies of the several seas. Inevitably, the attempt had to fail and to be given up even as had the one that was made in the sphere of politics. As a consequence one colonial church after the other has been allowed at last to set up for itself in the world as an independent church; but the evolution has run parallel to that of the "struggle" for self- and responsible government in the civil field.

A. H. YOUNG

<sup>21</sup>See evidence of the Rev. Dr. Lee before the parliamentary committee on the civil government of the Canadas, 1828.

## THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN UPPER CANADA, 1791-1840

THE position of the Church of England in Upper Canada prior to 1840 is an important problem, for popular dislike of the alleged monopolies and privileges of that so-called established church is usually given as one of the causes of the Rebellion of 1837. The purpose of this paper is to attempt to discover the intentions of the imperial authorities with regard to establishment and the extent to which those intentions were fulfilled in law and in practice.

The granting of special privileges to the Church of England is usually considered to have been an entirely new idea in colonial policy foisted on an unwilling people by the Canada (called Constitutional) Act of 1791.<sup>1</sup> This view is quite erroneous for the very words of the act may be found in earlier documents relating to the church in Canada. In fact, a policy with regard to the Church of England, outside England, had been laid down many years before the Peace of Paris, as Professor Young shows in his article in this issue.<sup>2</sup>

In Canada the beginnings of the church's privileged position may be found in the instructions sent to General Murray in 1763.<sup>3</sup> The articles which have reference to the Church of England are not long, and as they are of importance and recur many times, may well be quoted in full:

Article 33. And to the End that the Church of England may be established both in Principles and Practice, and that the said Inhabitants may by Degrees be induced to embrace the Protestant Religion, and their Children be brought up in the Principles of it; We do hereby declare it to be Our Intention, when the said Province

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Aileen Dunham, *Political unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-1836* (London, 1927), 80.

<sup>2</sup>An interesting illustration of this is that the instructions to Lord Culpeper, governor of Virginia, of September, 6, 1679, contain two articles which are almost identical with articles 34 and 35 of Murray's instructions of 1763. The Bishop of London was generally considered to have episcopal control over the colonies, but when the jurisdiction was questioned in 1675, it was found not to have any legal basis. However, in 1685, articles almost identical with articles 37 and 38 of Murray's instructions were added to the instructions of Sir Philip Howard, governor of Jamaica, which put the church in Jamaica under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. Like instructions were given later to nearly all the governors of royal provinces (E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the colonial history of the State of New York*, Albany, 1856, VII, 362-3).

<sup>3</sup>Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada* (Ottawa, 1918), I, 191: Instructions to Murray, 1763.

shall have been accurately surveyed, and divided into Townships, Districts, Precincts or Parishes, in such manner as shall be herein-after directed, all possible Encouragement shall be given to the erecting Protestant Schools in the said Districts, Townships and Precincts, by settling, appointing and allotting proper Quantities of Land for that Purpose, and also for a Glebe and Maintenance for a Protestant Minister and Protestant School-Masters; and you are to consider and report to Us, by our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, by what other Means the Protestant Religion may be promoted, established and encouraged in Our Province, under your Government.

34. And You are to take especial Care, that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout your Government, the Book of Common Prayer, as by Law established, read each Sunday and Holyday, and the blessed Sacrament administered according to the Rites of the Church of England.

35. You are not to prefer any Protestant Minister to any Ecclesiastical Benefice in the Province under your Government, without a Certificate from the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of London, of his being conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, and of a good life and Conversation; And if any Person hereafter preferred to a Benefice shall appear to you to give Scandal, either by his Doctrine or Manners, you are to use the best Means for his Removal.

36. You are to give Orders forthwith, that every Orthodox Minister within your Government be one of the Vestry in his respective Parish, and that no Vestry be held without him, except in case of Sickness, or, after Notice of a Vestry summoned, he omit to come.

37. And to the End that the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Lord Bishop of London may take place in Our Province under your Government, as far as conveniently may be, We do think fit, that You give all Countenance and Encouragement to the Exercise of the same excepting only the collating to Benefices, granting Licences for Marriage, and Probates of Wills, which We have reserved to You, Our Governor, and to the Commander in Chief of Our said Province for the Time being.

38. And We do further direct that no Schoolmaster who shall arrive in Our said Province from this Kingdom, be henceforward permitted to keep School, without the Licence of the said Lord Bishop of London; and that no other Person now there, or that shall come from other Parts, shall be admitted to keep School in your Government, without your Licence first obtained.

39. And You are to take especial Care, that a Table of Marriages, established by the Canons of the Church of England, be hung up in all Places of publick Worship, according to the Rites of the Church of England.

The intention of the Colonial Office is clear. The Church of England was to be established in Canada. Another interesting feature of these instructions is that they show the intention to

keep the Canadian church under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, continuing the system which had prevailed in the thirteen colonies. In practice the instructions to Murray did not give many rights to the church because there were very few Protestants in the colony. Murray observed in a letter that the only people in the province who were not Roman Catholics were "four hundred and fifty contemptible sutlers and traders".<sup>4</sup>

The next important piece of evidence in which we are interested is the Quebec Act of 1774.<sup>5</sup> This act, as is well known, restored to the Roman Catholic Church the right to collect tithes from persons professing that religion, which had been in abeyance since the capitulation of Montreal in September, 1760.<sup>6</sup> However, the Church of England was not disregarded and a way was left open in the sixth clause for some future provision for an established church.

More important, but less well known, are the instructions to Carleton in 1775,<sup>7</sup> made necessary by the passing of the Quebec Act. The twentieth article clearly shows the intention of the British government. The Church of Rome was to receive privileges but the Church of England alone was to be established. The article stated:

The establishment of proper regulations in matters of ecclesiastical concern is an Object of very great importance, and it will be your indispensable duty to lose no time in making such arrangements in regard thereto, as may give full satisfaction to Our new Subjects in every point, in which they have a right to any indulgence on that head; always remembering, that it is a toleration of the free exercise of the religion of the Church of Rome only to which they are entitled, but not to the powers and privileges of it, as an established Church, for that is a preference, which belongs only to the Protestant Church of England. [The word "Protestant" in this connection should be noticed as illustrating the contemporary use of the word.]

The other articles relating to the Church of England are exactly as they were given to Murray in 1763, with the exception that the wording of the one which provided for glebes for schools and churches was altered because some of the surveys about to be begun in 1763 had been completed. Carleton did not live up to

<sup>4</sup>Hugh E. Egerton, *A historical geography of the British dominions*, vol. V, Canada (Oxford, 1923), 7: Murray to Shelburne, August 20, 1766.

<sup>5</sup>Shortt and Doughty, *Documents*, I, 570: 14 George III, c.83. The instructions to Carleton in 1768, as far as they related to the Church of England, were identical with those to Murray in 1763 (*ibid.*, I, 311).

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 30: Article 27.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 602: Instructions to Carleton, 1775.



the instructions and the church did not derive much benefit from them.<sup>8</sup> There were few non-Roman Catholics in the colony and his indifference may have been due to his early opinion that Canada was destined always to be French.<sup>9</sup>

The American Revolution and the immigration of the United Empire Loyalists into Canada changed the situation and instead of being French the western part of Canada was peopled by English-speaking Protestants. The Quebec Act was quite inadequate under the changed conditions and protests, first from the English traders in the colony and later from the Loyalists, began to be heard. In 1787 the Loyalists living from Point au Baudet on Lake St. Francis westwards as far as Niagara sent a petition to Lord Dorchester which went so far as to ask assistance in establishing the Churches of England and of Scotland in the infant settlement and also that a glebe of four hundred acres of land in each township might be set apart for a clergyman.<sup>10</sup>

The year 1787 also saw a great advance in the position of the Church of England in America. In 1786 the imperial parliament, after many years of agitation, passed an act to empower the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Archbishop of York, for the time being, to consecrate to the office of bishop persons being subjects or citizens of countries out of his majesty's dominions; and acting under that statute the two archbishops consecrated William White and Samuel Provoost as Bishops of Pennsylvania and New York, respectively. In view of this development letters patent had almost of necessity to issue appointing Dr. Charles Inglis Bishop of Nova Scotia, a position for the establishment of which petition had been made through Sir Guy Carleton before he evacuated New York. Another commission gave Inglis powers to exercise episcopal authority over Quebec, New Brunswick, and the Island of Newfoundland. He was consecrated on August 12, 1787.<sup>11</sup>

The appointment of the first colonial bishop marked the be-

<sup>8</sup>The question of Carleton's attitude to the Church of England has been fully dealt with. See A. H. Young, "Lord Dorchester and the Church of England" (Canadian Historical Association report, 1926, 60-5).

<sup>9</sup>The instructions to Haldimand in 1778 were identical with those to Carleton in 1775, as far as they dealt with church matters. The instructions to Carleton (then Lord Dorchester) in 1786 were substantially the same as those he had received in 1775. The articles relating to the Church of England appeared in the same order and the wording was only slightly altered (Shortt and Doughty, *Documents*, II, 697, 822).

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 742, 773, 801, 803, 949.

<sup>11</sup>*Annual register*, 1786 (London, 1788), 302; A. L. Cross, *The Anglican episcopate and the American colonies* (New York, 1902), 266; A. H. Young, "Dr. Charles Inglis in New York, 1766-1783" (Canadian Historical Association report, 1932, 87-96).



ginning of a departure in colonial church policy necessitating many changes in the previous royal instructions, which, as we have seen, had left the jurisdiction of the Canadian church under the Bishop of London. The new instructions were sent to Dorchester on August 25, 1787.<sup>12</sup> Two of the clauses were almost identical with articles 34 and 36 of Murray's instructions of 1763; in others the changes were largely confined to those which were necessitated by having a bishop on the same continent and not on the English side of the Atlantic; but other clauses, particularly those relating to education, are almost entirely new. The following clauses show the greatest number of changes:

...It is nevertheless Our Will and Pleasure to reserve to you, the granting of Licenses for Marriages, Letters of Administration, and Probates of Wills, as heretofore exercised by you and your Predecessors; and also to reserve to you and to all others, to whom it may lawfully belong, the Patronage and Right of Presentation of Benefices; but it is Our Will and Pleasure that the Person so presented shall be instituted by the Bishop or his Commissary duly authorized by him, as directed by Our said Commissions.

You are to permit Liberty of Conscience and the free Exercise of all such Modes of Religious Worship, as are not prohibited by Law, to all Persons who inhabit and frequent the Provinces under your Government, provided they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, without giving Offence or Scandal to Government. . . .

You are to be careful that the Churches which are or may be hereafter erected in Our said Provinces or Islands under your Government, be well and orderly kept, and that besides a competent Maintenance to be assigned to the Minister of each Parish Church, a Convenient House be built at the Common Charge for each Minister.

You shall recommend to the Legislative Council and General Assemblies, of the Provinces under your Government, to settle the limits of Parishes, in such a manner as shall be deemed most convenient for accomplishing this good Work. . . .

It is Our Will and Pleasure that you recommend to the Legislative Council or Assemblies, within your Government, to make due Provision for the erecting and Maintaining of Schools, where Youth may be educated in Competent Learning, and in Knowledge of the Principles of the Christian Religion.

And it is Our further Will and Pleasure that no Person shall be allowed to keep a School in the Provinces under your Government, without your License first had and obtained: In granting which you are to pay the most particular attention, to the Morals and proper Qualifications of the Persons applying for the same and in

<sup>12</sup>Shortt and Doughty, *Documents*, II, 838: Instructions to Dorchester, 1787.

all Cases where the School has been founded, instituted or appointed for the Education of Members of the Church of England, or where it is intended, that the Schoolmaster should be a Member of the Church of England; you are not to grant such Licenses except to Persons, who shall first have obtained from the Bishop of Nova Scotia, or one of his Commissaries, a Certificate of their being properly qualified for that Purpose.

That the instructions were acted upon in some degree is shown in the rules and regulations for local land boards laid down in 1789 by a committee of the council at Quebec, which stated that each township should contain spaces for one or more place or places for the public worship of God, a common burying ground, one parsonage house, a town park for one minister, and a glebe for one minister.<sup>13</sup>

The Canada Act of 1791<sup>14</sup> marks the next stage in the development of the position of the Church of England in Upper Canada. This act is often thought of as having forced a church establishment on Upper Canada, while the truth is, that in the act little was embodied which had not been provided for in the instructions already adverted to, and by the Quebec Act. This is clearly shown in section 35 where direct reference is made in turn to both.

The act may be said to have made four, if not five provisions for the Church of England. (1) Section 35 stated that no Protestant in either province could be compelled to give tithes to the Roman Catholic Church, but such tithes were to be used for the support of a Protestant clergy in the province where they were collected. (2) It enacted in section 36, that lands equal in value to one-seventh of the crown grants should be set apart for the support of a Protestant clergy. The lands thus set apart were known as the Clergy Reserves and became an issue which was to be a source of acrimonious debate and sectarian bitterness for many years. (3) The act provided, in section 38, that the king might authorize the governor or lieutenant-governor of each of the provinces to constitute in every township or parish, parsonages or rectories, according to the establishment of the Church of England and also to endow such rectories with land. These rectory endowments were limited to any incumbent or minister of the Church of England who had been ordained according to the rites and ceremonies of the church, and on the same terms and conditions as an incumbent of a benefice or cure in England.

<sup>13</sup>*Report of the Department of Public Records and Archives of Ontario, 1928, 64, 65: Quebec land book, August 21, 1789.*

<sup>14</sup>Short and Doughty, *Documents*, II, 1031: 31 George III, c. 31.

These endowments were apparently distinct from the Clergy Reserves. (4) Section 6, which supplemented those which made provision for the summoning of members to the legislative council, enacted that the king might annex to hereditary titles of honour the hereditary right of being summoned to the legislative council, "descendible according to the Course of Descent so limited with respect to such Title, Rank or Dignity". It was under this section that Bishop Jacob Mountain was summoned to the legislative and executive councils of Upper Canada. In Bishop Strachan's case this was not necessary for he had received his appointment on account of services rendered during and subsequent to the War of 1812, and even prior to his becoming an archdeacon.<sup>15</sup>

The fifth special provision for the Church of England in the Canada Act may be considered as supplementary to the other provisions or as a separate one. This is to be found in the forty-first and forty-second clauses in which the onus of making provision for the establishment of the church was thrown upon the local legislatures, coupled with the restriction that all local legislation adverse, or even favourable, to the church should be subject to review in London. This clause could not of itself establish or disestablish the Church of England for its becoming operative depended on the passing of legislation relating to the Church of England under the other provisions of the act.

The right of the Church of England in Upper Canada to be called an established church depends on these provisions and on the extent to which they were implemented.

The report of the debate on the bill in the House of Commons shows clearly that the intention was to establish the church in Canada in the sense in which the word was understood at the time. Pitt suggested that the act would enable the governor to encourage the established church and that later it might be proposed to send out a bishop who would sit on the legislative council. This idea had been present in connection with Nova Scotia, but was not acted on in that colony because the bishop, Dr. Inglis, wished to avoid difficulties which had been conjured up in public discussions in the old colonies. Fox "disagreed with the whole of this plan".<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, the idea was acted on as regards Canada and Bishop Jacob Mountain was sent to the diocese of Quebec, which comprised Lower and Upper Canada. He was,

<sup>15</sup>Alison Ewart and Julia Jarvis, "The personnel of the family compact" (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, September, 1926, 213, 215, 219, 220).

<sup>16</sup>The *parliamentary register* (London, 1791), XXIX, 415.

as has been shown, given a seat in the councils of Upper Canada.<sup>17</sup>

A brief sketch will show that the intention to extend certain privileges to the church or even the specification of them in the Canada Act, did not mean that the privileges would be granted in practice.

The provision regarding tithes may be dismissed in a few words. Simcoe, who wished to live up to what he conceived to be the spirit and the letter of the act and the avowed policy of the imperial government, admitted that, although tithes could be legally collected, any attempt to do so would be highly dangerous and unpalatable to the people.<sup>18</sup> Tithes, therefore, were never collected in the province. In 1816 the legislature of Upper Canada passed, at Strachan's suggestion, an act "relative to the right of Tithes" which aimed at rescinding the clause in the Canada Act providing for their collection. However, the imperial parliament did not ratify the bill within the two years allowed in such cases. In 1821 the legislature passed a similar bill the royal assent to which was promulgated by proclamation, February 20, 1823. The act provided that "no tythes shall be claimed, demanded or received, by any Ecclesiastical Parson, Rector or Vicar, of the Protestant Church within this Province, any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding".<sup>19</sup>

The second provision for the church in the Canada Act, that providing for Clergy Reserves, has a longer history. The intention behind the Reserves was undoubtedly to provide a future endowment for the Church of England. That the endowment was a prospective one may be deduced from the fact that the exclusive right of that church to the Reserves was not called into question for nearly thirty years, after Anglican corporations for their management had been brought into active operation. Within that period, however, the Reserves became valuable and the question of their disposal began to be of interest to the Church of Scotland.

The administration of the Reserves, a problem which became more acute as the country developed, was left in the hands of the

<sup>17</sup>A. H. Young, "Lord Dorchester and the Church of England". See also his "The Church of England in Upper Canada, 1791-1841" (*Queen's quarterly*, winter, 1930, 155).

<sup>18</sup>E. A. Cruikshank (ed.), *The correspondence of Lieut. Gov. John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto, 1923-6), III, 349, Simcoe to the Bishop of Quebec, April 30, 1795; IV, 134, Simcoe to Portland, November 8, 1795.

<sup>19</sup>*Report of the Public Records and Archives of Ontario*, 1912, 267, and 1920, 208. The act was 2 George IV, c. 32 of Upper Canada.

executive council, which took little interest in them, and did not, it was claimed, get the greatest possible revenue from them. In 1819, in order to surmount this difficulty, the administration, as indicated already, was vested in clerical corporations in the two provinces made up of the higher dignitaries and clergy of the Church of England in each. From that date all rents were collected by the nearest resident clergyman but all the moneys were turned over to the receiver-general for transmission to England for investment in the funds. Thus they were subject to control in London.

This linking of the Church of England with the Reserves aroused opposition on the part of the Church of Scotland which, as the established church of the northern kingdom, based its demands on the grounds of the substance of the debates in the House of Commons in 1790-1, and not on the expressed terms of the act itself. The Church of Scotland, in November, 1819, was able to secure an opinion from the imperial law officers of the crown (possibly given on political grounds) which supported its contention.<sup>20</sup> Other Protestant bodies (for with the years the word "Protestant" had received a considerable extension of meaning to include Baptists, Congregationalists, and Methodists<sup>21</sup>) contended that the act did not set aside the land for the Church of England explicitly but for "a Protestant Clergy". This claim was not sound because the intention of the Colonial Office was clearly to establish the Church of England and in the contemporary documents the term "Protestant Church" obviously means Church of England. Nevertheless, the select committee on the civil government of Canada were of the opinion in 1828 that those persons who brought forward the Canada Act in parliament sought to reserve to the government the right to apply the proceeds of the reserved lands generally, if they so thought fit, to Protestant clergy of any complexion whatsoever.<sup>22</sup>

Other opposition to the Reserves, it is claimed, arose because the Reserves were a hindrance to the settlement of the country. This point was made by Lord Durham,<sup>23</sup> and the question thus

<sup>20</sup>Report from the select committee on the civil government of Canada, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 22, 1828, appendix 14, p. 353.

<sup>21</sup>"In reference to the Church of England the use [of the term 'Protestant'] has varied with time and circumstances. In the 17th C., Protestant was generally accepted and used by members of the Established Church, and was even so applied to the exclusion of Presbyterians, Quakers, and Separatists, as is still usual in Ireland and is still or was lately in some districts of England" (Sir James A. H. Murray, ed., *A new English dictionary*, Oxford, 1909, VII, 1504).

<sup>22</sup>Report of the select committee on Canada, 1828, 11.

<sup>23</sup>Sir C. P. Lucas (ed.), *Lord Durham's report* (Oxford, 1921), III, 20.

became an economic as well as a religious one. The validity of this argument has not yet been adequately studied but very possibly large land-owners and land-speculators, with whom Upper Canada abounded, pointed to the Clergy Reserves in an effort to divert attention from themselves and their own obstructions. Those denominations which demanded a share of the Reserves were clearly not doing so in any public-spirited effort to open up the country.

After the failure of several attempts at procuring a legislative settlement of the question, the matter was set at rest for a moment by the passing of an imperial statute in 1840.<sup>24</sup> This act provided for the gradual sale of the Reserves and for the division of the proceeds into six equal parts, of which two were to be appropriated to the Church of England, one to the Church of Scotland, and the residue to be applied by the governor of Canada, with the advice of the executive council for the purposes of public worship and religious instruction in Canada.

The value of the Clergy Reserves to the church may well be questioned, as may their conferring on it the character of an establishment. Certainly for all practical purposes they did more harm than good. In the early years the Reserves were of little value and during no year prior to 1827 did the proceeds amount to more than £400.

Following the precedents set in the case of John Stuart and John Langhorn, prior to 1792, government salaries were allowed to Robert Addison, Thomas Raddish, and other clergymen appointed by the lieutenant-governor down to 1813. In that year arrangements were made to pay an annual grant to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for distribution among the Church of England clergy in Canada until the Reserves should become productive. The society, which itself paid the clergy as its missionaries a minimum of £50 each per annum, in this matter played the part of agent for the government. This continued down to 1834. Examples, on the other hand, may be found of similar grants to ministers of the Church of Scotland and later to Victoria College and the like, which show that the Church of England had not always exclusive privileges. This had been made clear to Dorchester when he expressed the wish to allow a stipend to the ministers of the Church of Scotland in Montreal, Quebec, and Williamstown and asked for permission to do so. He was told by Dundas that permission was unnecessary as this was en-

<sup>24</sup>3 & 4 Victoria, c. 78.

tirely a matter for his own discretion, provided the stipend was asked for.<sup>25</sup> The only difference was one of degree as the total amount received by the Church of England was much greater than that received by other bodies.

In 1832 the imperial government, to meet the representations made by William Lyon Mackenzie and his friends, gave notice that the S.P.G.'s grant would be cut off in 1834 and the burden of meeting the payment of the clergy transferred to the legislature of Upper Canada out of the income from the reserves. The *Seventh report on grievances*, a definitely partisan report of a committee of the House of Assembly in 1835, shows that four different bodies, the Methodist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and Anglican received money from the provincial treasurer under this new arrangement.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, if the Clergy Reserves established the Church of England by supplying an endowment or salaries, they *ipso facto* established three other denominations, although the Church of England received the largest share. The Clergy Reserves accordingly cannot at all be said to have established the Church of England.

The discussion of the Clergy Reserves has taken us away from the Canada Act, the third provision of which related to the establishment of glebes for the support of the Church of England clergy. These glebes were apparently meant to be distinct from the Clergy Reserves, although the two are often spoken of as being one and the same thing. Again the theory was good but in practice the provisions meant little to the church. Referring again to the *Seventh report*, we find that between the years 1789 and 1833 there were 23,905 acres of public lands set apart by the crown as glebes for clergymen. Of this land the Church of England received 22,345 acres, the Scottish Church 1,160, and the Roman Catholics 400.<sup>27</sup> Again the Church of England received the largest

<sup>25</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *Series Q*, vol. 67, pp. 49 and 73 (given in Young, "Lord Dorchester and the Church of England", 64).

<sup>26</sup>The *seventh report on grievances* (Toronto, 1835), xiv, states: "Ecclesiastical Establishment. This consists of four classes—the Methodists—two conferences, not in connexion with each other. The Church of England—the Presbyterians, two Synods, not in connexion with each other; and the Roman Catholic Church. The Church of England has been upheld by the Crown since the first settlement of the colony. The Churches of Scotland and Rome received but a miserable pittance, until within the last six or seven years. The Seceders from the Scottish Establishment, began to receive a bounty for their spiritual services some three or four years ago; and the Methodist conferences had grants extended to them for the first time in 1832 or 1833. The Independents, Baptists, Congregationalists, Quakers, Lutherans, Tunkards, Menonists, Primitive Methodists and other sects do not receive any part of the public money, and several of the Presbyterian and Methodist Ministers refuse to accept any portion of it." See also *Seventh report*, 132-69.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, xviii, xviii, 164.



share but other bodies received enough to show that the privilege was not exclusive. For these glebes, prior to 1836, when Sir John Colborne, following instructions from London, established forty-four rectories, there was nobody empowered to take title. For that of York for instance special trustees had to be appointed by the executive council in 1817. The rectories did not involve any jurisdiction political or spiritual over non-Anglicans, which "dissenting" critics and opponents averred they did or might. As for the landed endowments concerned, Sir John, who, though he was a member of the Church of England, tried to deal impartially with all communions, had to make some shift to cope with the situation caused by the discontinuance of parliament's subvention in 1834.<sup>28</sup>

The fourth provision of the Canada Act relative to the church may be dismissed in few words and the fifth has already been dealt with. Mountain was called to the legislative council, as we have seen but so too was Dr. Macdonell, the first Roman Catholic bishop of Upper Canada, who was consecrated in 1826 and was called to the legislative council in 1831.<sup>29</sup>

In brief, then, none of the provisions of the Canada Act can be said to have established the Church of England and all the special rights granted to it were offset by similar, if smaller, concessions to other denominations.

An important connection between the Church of England and government was almost provided in 1793, in a municipal act of that year. Many of the United Empire Loyalists had been accustomed to the annual town meeting, which had been transplanted to New England, and which they longed to see legally established in Upper Canada. Simcoe had a horror of all "American" institutions as savouring of republicanism and did his best to avoid compliance with this wish. He could not ignore popular demand, however, and the legislature of Upper Canada passed an act to provide for the annual election of town and parish officers by the ratepayers of the municipalities.<sup>30</sup> This act provided that at the town meeting, to be held on the first Monday in March, the assembled inhabitant householders were to choose and nominate two fit and discreet persons to serve as town wardens, with the provision that as soon as a church should be built "for the performance of divine service, according to the use of the Church of

<sup>28</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *Land book R*, 240 ff.; *Land book J*, 193-4. (Photostats in Ontario Archives.)

<sup>29</sup>Ewart and Jarvis, "The personnel of the family compact", 218.

<sup>30</sup>33 George III, c. 2.



England, with a Parson or Minister duly appointed thereto", the rector was to appoint one of the two town wardens and both were then to serve as church wardens.

There were very few organized parishes when the act came into force but the records show that the incumbent of Kingston appointed a town warden in 1793, and the "officiating minister" of York (now Toronto) appointed one in 1806 when his church was almost completed and his congregation still worshipping in the "Government House".<sup>31</sup> Had the town meetings been an important institution in Upper Canada, the provisions of the act of 1793 would have given the Church of England a predominant position and would almost have established a parochial system of municipal government in the province. However, Simcoe, fearing the town meeting as an "American" institution, gave it few powers other than those just noted and thus made it quite innocuous.<sup>32</sup> The real power was vested in the quarter sessions of the magistrates functioning as a district council, a sufficiently loyal and English institution, whose members were appointed by the lieutenant-governor in council. The town meetings were no longer held after the passing of the first Municipal Act in 1843.

There remains to be considered only one other legal provision which may be advanced as having given the Church of England a dominant position, the Marriage Act of 1793.<sup>33</sup> This act was passed by the provincial legislature (after much popular and other opposition) on condition that it should soon be made more liberal. It enacted that marriages should be celebrated by clergymen of the Church of England. If no such clergyman were resident within eighteen miles, the ceremony could be performed only by a justice of the peace, according to the form prescribed by the Church of England.

Popular opposition to the measure continued but Simcoe was able to avoid making any change. However, as a temporary expedient, Presbyterian ministers were permitted to marry by license and in 1798, after Simcoe had left the country, a second Marriage Act<sup>34</sup> was passed. This gave the ministers or clergymen of any congregation or religious community of persons professing to be members of the Church of Scotland, or Lutherans or Cal-

<sup>31</sup>A. H. Young (ed.), *The parish register of Kingston* (Kingston, 1921), 64; *Oracle*, March 8, 1806 (given in J. R. Robertson, *Landmarks of Toronto*, Toronto, 1914, VI, 331).

<sup>32</sup>Cruikshank (ed.), *Correspondence of John Graves Simcoe*, II, 53: Simcoe to Henry Dundas, September 16, 1793.

<sup>33</sup>George III, c. 5.

<sup>34</sup>George III, c. 4.

vinists the power to marry, if one of the contracting parties had been a member of the congregation or community at least six months. The term Calvinist in the act was meant to include members of the Dutch Reformed Church and Baptists. Quakers had special privileges granted by earlier imperial statutes but Methodists did not receive the right until 1830.<sup>35</sup>

Finally it may be said that in many small ways the Church of England was able to maintain a position of prestige from custom rather than by law. For example, the chaplains to the assembly and legislative council were for many years appointed exclusively from the clergy of the Church of England and all the lieutenant-governors attended that church.<sup>36</sup> This situation had no basis in law, and cannot, of course, be advanced as a proof that the Church of England in Upper Canada was established.

Very wide disagreements may be seen in contemporary opinion on the question of establishment. William Lyon Mackenzie thought that land grants established any church which accepted them.<sup>37</sup> Dr. Strachan, mistakenly as it seems, declared that "although the Church of England in the Canadas is not so independent of the Colonial Authorities as the Church of Rome, it is, nevertheless, the real Established Church of the two provinces, because it has been lawfully established in these Colonies by the King, who has the undoubted, and long practised prerogative to do so".<sup>38</sup> However, the most nearly accurate contemporary description of the situation appears to be that of the Rev. James Richardson, editor of the *Christian guardian*, who in 1833 spoke for the Methodist Episcopal Church. He wrote:

... it is only necessary to observe, that where nothing is finally fixed or determined in law with respect to any subject, it is of course freely open for discussion; and no man can have any cause to complain of invasion in the case. Such is precisely the case with respect to a

<sup>35</sup>11 George IV, c. 36.

<sup>36</sup>The implication in the custom of always having a clergyman of the Church of England appointed by the executive as chaplain to the assembly was clearly seen by the members of that house. In 1831 they passed a bill to repeal such parts of the act 41 George III, c. 12 as provided for the payment of a salary to the chaplain of the House of Assembly. The legislative council threw out the bill. The assembly then presented an address to the lieutenant-governor, in which they begged leave "to inform His Excellency, that deeming it inexpedient to sanction any act that might be construed either directly or indirectly to recognize an established Church in this Province, they have rescinded their rule requiring the business of the day to commence with prayer, and consequently have no further occasion for the services of a Chaplain" (*Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, session 1832-3*, York, 1833, appendix, 204).

<sup>37</sup>See note 26.

<sup>38</sup>John Strachan, *Observations on the provision made for the maintenance of a Protestant clergy, in the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, under the 31st Geo. III*, cop. 31 (London, 1827), 33-4.

Church establishment in this Province, the right to the Clergy Reserves, a system of education, &c. It is true that for several years it was generally supposed that the Church of England was established by law in the Province, and of course entitled to the Clergy Reserves; no question being made of this, it passed unnoticed, and in consequence the clergy of the Church obtained a standing and pre-eminence in the country, to which it was found upon enquiry they were by no means *legally* entitled. [The italics are Richardson's.]

We are aware that this point is yet contended, and various arguments have been resorted to in support of the claims of the Clergy of the Church of England to an establishment by law in the province, but every attempt at reasoning on the subject has but served to show the want of law on their side.<sup>29</sup>

J. J. TALMAN

<sup>29</sup>*Christian guardian*, July 31, 1833.

## FINANCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN MANITOBA AND THE DOMINION, 1870-86<sup>1</sup>

THERE is a widely held opinion that during the first sixteen years of its history as a province (1870-86), Manitoba was treated with less than justice by the dominion, particularly in respect of financial terms. Yet examination reveals that during practically the whole period the government in office at Winnipeg was in close touch with that at Ottawa, and that the subsidies given Manitoba by the dominion were during these years altered upward more frequently than those of any other province. There is thus presented something of a paradox which it is the purpose of this article to examine.

On many counts the creation of Manitoba as a province in 1870 was premature. Its inhabitants numbered only 12,200 souls, of whom 1,600 were white;<sup>2</sup> and they had no framework of government and no experience with democratic institutions. Why, then, was not this area left in the status of a territory? The reason was the Red River Rebellion of 1869-70. The government of Sir John Macdonald desired to show its conciliatory intentions toward the inhabitants of the Red River territory, and therefore, while Riel was still in arms at Fort Garry, the Manitoba bill was introduced into parliament. It was altogether likely that a measure designed for this purpose, and designed in haste, would prove defective as an instrument of government.

Of the many disputes which arose between Manitoba and the federal government, those concerning finance were the most important and the most chronic. The provincial treasury was perpetually empty and the constant effort of the provincial government was to replenish it by larger grants from the dominion. Other grievances—lack of public domain, extension of boundaries,

<sup>1</sup>The material for this paper was gathered while I was a fellow of the Social Science Research Council, 1930-1.

<sup>2</sup>In 1870 a special census of population was taken in Manitoba and it set total population at 12,228 souls of whom some 1,600 were white, 500 Indians, and the rest half-breeds (*Census of 1871*, IV, 380-7). A considerable number of years later—apparently after 1901—this figure was revised by adding it to 13,000 Indians; and the figure of total population of Manitoba in 1871 reported in current *Canada year books* is 25,228. I have been unable to discover the basis for this belated estimate of Indian population and a figure of 13,000 seems to be entirely too large. In no decennial census up to 1911 is an Indian population reported which is anything like as large, despite the fact that the boundaries of Manitoba were enlarged in 1881. I have, therefore, assumed a population of 12,228 in calculating *per capita* subsidy for Manitoba in 1871.

disallowance, *etc.*—were voiced, but almost all of them, at least during the early years, were related to, and centred around, the demand for an increased subsidy. It is, therefore, important to understand at the outset just what was given to the province by the dominion.

The financial provisions of the Manitoba Act were, in the main, modelled upon those of the British North America Act and consisted of (a) an annual subsidy of eighty cents *per capita*, (b) a debt allowance, (c) an annual grant in support of government. For the purpose of computing the amount of these grants, Manitoba was assumed to have a population of 17,000. The eighty-cent subsidy thus amounted to \$13,600. The debt allowance, at the rate of \$27.77 *per capita*, was \$472,090; and, since Manitoba had no debt, it was to receive on this sum interest at five per cent. a year, amounting to \$23,604. The grant in support of government was set at \$30,000. Altogether Manitoba was entitled to be paid \$67,204 a year from the dominion treasury.

It has in later years been asserted that this sum was pitifully inadequate.<sup>3</sup> The subsidy of \$67,200 amounted, however, to \$5.50 *per capita*, which was more than four times as much as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and more than eight times as much as Ontario and Quebec, were receiving from the federal government.<sup>4</sup> It should, of course, be stated at once that comparison on a *per capita* basis alone is unfair; but it should also be realized that population had been accepted by the framers of Confederation as the most satisfactory guide by which to arrange financial terms. When the Manitoba delegates came to Ottawa in 1870, precedent indicated that the subsidies given the new province should be analogous to those given the older provinces. Here was a major error, because there was no true analogy between the situation of Manitoba and that of the older provinces.

There was a vague realization of this by the delegates from Fort Garry and by the dominion representatives, but a new approach was blocked by substantial obstacles. The delegates, with perhaps one exception (Judge Black), lacked the education and the background to make them realize the importance or the difficulty of the task they were to perform. They were, besides, invested with a dubious authority; and they were interested above all in securing peace and in safeguarding certain rights thought to

<sup>3</sup>Chester Martin, *The natural resources question* (Winnipeg, 1920), 45.

<sup>4</sup>The grants *per capita* paid to the provinces in 1871 were: Ontario, \$0.64; Quebec, \$0.67; Nova Scotia, \$1.21; New Brunswick, \$1.20; Manitoba, \$5.50; British Columbia, \$5.96.

have been imperilled by the Canadian government. It was thus entirely natural that something like the subsidies given the other provinces should be acceptable. On the other hand, the dominion representatives might have thought it essential to formulate a statesmanlike arrangement, instead of giving merely whatever Manitoba was willing to accept. But for such a broad-minded attitude there was no precedent. In all negotiations about financial terms the dominion authorities had taken a passive position, and had merely tried to see that the demands made upon the federal treasury were not excessive. Sir George Cartier, acting for the dominion, thought of the delegates as bargainers who were to be satisfied.

Another feature of the Manitoba Act of great importance in future disputes over better terms, provided that the ungranted public domain of the province was to be retained in the hands of the federal government. There were very cogent reasons for this step. The dominion planned construction of a Pacific railway and everyone was agreed that this could be accomplished only by the utilization, through grants or by sales, of the lands of the Northwest. Therefore, until the railway was built, or at least located, Manitoba could hardly be given the public domain within its boundaries. Again, the free homestead scheme of the United States forced upon Canada the adoption of some analogous plan. Additional reasons could, doubtless, be added, but these are sufficient to explain the action of the dominion.

But why did the federal government, while retaining the domain, not give a subsidy in lieu of it? For the simple reason that, in 1870, the idea of such a subsidy had not yet evolved.<sup>5</sup> The delegates from Fort Garry did not ask for this. Their chief concern was that their domain should be so administered as to promote rapid settlement. Federal control of the domain, coupled with a free homestead policy, was satisfactory to them.<sup>6</sup> Not until

<sup>5</sup>A different explanation has often been given. It has been contended that Manitoba, from the beginning, was made "the Cinderella of Confederation" and that the federal government, exasperated at the Riel Rebellion, withheld a land subsidy in order to shackle the provinces by bonds of poverty. For a brief discussion of the origin of the subsidy in lieu of land, see Maxwell, "The dispute over the federal domain in Canada" (*Journal of political economy*, December, 1933, 778-81).

It should be noted that the Cinderella sobriquet was first used in 1884 by John Norquay in his budget speech, and it was, so the official report records, received by the legislature with laughter.

<sup>6</sup>Four lists of rights were drawn up by the people of the Red River settlement (See Begg, *The creation of Manitoba*, Toronto, 1871, for three of these, and the *Winnipeg free press*, December 27, 1889, for the fourth). In three of these lists a demand was made for provincial control of the domain and in two of them was a demand for a free homestead and pre-emption act. The demands were incompatible and there is no evidence showing that the former was regarded as more essential than the latter.

later, after British Columbia and Prince Edward Island had been given subsidies in lieu of land, and after it was obvious that these subsidies were merely grants of better terms, did Manitoba request that it should receive similar treatment.

The fundamental fault to be found with the financial provisions of the Manitoba Act was that nobody looked beyond the immediate situation. If a province was to be carved prematurely from an area which ought to have been left in the status of a territory, then it ought not to have been fitted out from a pattern which was suitable only to a more mature community. It is along this line that criticism of the negotiators who drew up the Manitoba Act should be directed. The federal government, for reasons of public policy, gave provincial status to an area which was essentially primitive; and it gave financial terms modelled improperly upon those given to older provinces. The fault was not that the public domain was retained in federal control or that no subsidy was allowed in lieu of it; nor was it that Manitoba received inadequate grants from the dominion. The sum of \$67,200, small as it may now seem, amounted to \$5.50 *per capita*, and it was much more than had ever before been spent for government in the area. But there was no provision for future alteration of the terms of union, and the actual alterations made later were made badly and at the cost of much ill-feeling. In short, the Manitoba Act bears on its face evidence of the ignorance and inexperience of the delegates from the Red River settlement—a thing which was unavoidable, and also of the lack of mature consideration given to the measure by the federal government—a thing which can hardly be condoned. The dominion representatives should have approached the Manitoba problem with a wider vision and with a keener perception of its peculiarities.

From the very outset the provincial government of Manitoba was in financial difficulty.<sup>7</sup> In 1871 expenditure was \$95,000,<sup>8</sup> while revenue was only \$70,000, leaving a deficit of \$25,000. Why was this bad start made? The explanation which one might expect would be that Manitoba was a pioneer province, lacking public works, and that it had made expenditures to acquire these. There were, however, other reasons. Examination of the public

<sup>7</sup>After 1871, Manitoba "struggled courageously under financial responsibilities which, despite an economy verging upon abject parsimony, were utterly beyond the powers of the provincial treasurer to meet from the resources at his disposal" (Chester Martin, *The natural resources question*, 80).

<sup>8</sup>This amounted to \$7.77 *per capita*, compared with \$1.51 for Nova Scotia. At this time the area of Manitoba was only sixty per cent. of that of Nova Scotia.



accounts shows that more than thirty per cent. of the expenditure of Manitoba was for legislative expenses. This small province, with a population of 12,200 people, had twenty-four members in its house of assembly and seven in its legislative council, each of whom was paid \$300 a year as salary, and miscellaneous amounts for perquisites; and it had an executive council of five, each paid \$2,000 a year. The situation was unreasonable and ludicrously costly. That the federal government acquiesced in this multiplication of office-holders is proof of the lack of judicious consideration it had shown in launching the new province upon its career.

For the provincial government the simplest solution of its difficulties was an appeal for larger subsidies. At once pilgrimages to Ottawa were begun. For a time they got no results. Then, in 1874, R. A. Davis became premier, after a campaign in which he attacked the extravagance of the provincial government. He hoped that he would be able to get a favourable response to the claims of his province. A Liberal government, headed by Alexander Mackenzie, was in power at Ottawa and Davis was a Liberal. He was, moreover, willing to carry out a programme of economies. On the other hand, Mackenzie and his chief followers had always taken an uncompromising stand against increase of subsidies.

Davis presented his plea, and, after he had given practical evidence of economical administration by abolition of the legislative council and by creation of county municipalities, he got a modest reward. Manitoba was given an increase of \$26,750 in the grants which it was to receive from the federal treasury.<sup>9</sup>

For the next three years there was a lull. The Davis administration, by strict economy, was able to balance its budget. In any case, it was clear that nothing more could be wheedled out of

<sup>9</sup>*Dominion statutes*, 1876, c. 3. The increase was given only until 1881, in which year the province would receive an increased subsidy based upon the census of that year. This limitation was due to Edward Blake. The case of Manitoba had been referred to him for recommendation and he had satisfied himself that Manitoba deserved assistance. But he also believed that subsidies were, at best, a necessary evil (*Dominion sessional papers*, 1876, no. 36).

The precise status of the Manitoba subsidies at this time should be noticed. The original yearly grant had amounted to \$67,204, of which \$23,604 was interest on debt allowance. In 1873 an addition of \$79,357 was made to the debt allowance of Manitoba as its portion of the increase given all the provinces; and on this sum interest at five per cent. was \$3,968, raising the total of interest receipts up to \$27,572. But Manitoba had been given advances at various times which amounted to \$158,386, and these were, in 1876, deducted from the debt allowance, the interest receipts becoming \$19,653. Thus the total grant amounted to \$63,253. The Mackenzie government raised this to \$90,000, an increase of \$26,747.



the government of Alexander Mackenzie. But when, late in 1878, Davis resigned from the premiership to be succeeded by John Norquay, and when Sir John Macdonald became prime minister in place of Mackenzie, the agitation entered upon a new phase. Norquay had no intention of imitating the policy of his predecessor. It was his opinion that, in the past, expenditure had been kept down by a "system of economy sometimes incompatible with the dignity of our institutions, and by ignoring persistently the ever-increasing requirements of the province".<sup>10</sup> His policy would be to encourage construction of railways, to assist education, to build highways and public buildings. From what source were the funds to be provided? Norquay looked to Ottawa, and it soon became clear that the Conservative government had not the doctrinaire convictions on the question of subsidies which had been held by its Liberal predecessor.

In its first effort to win larger grants from the dominion treasury, the Norquay administration scored a modest success. The federal government promised to insert an item in the estimates which would provide the province with "plain, but sufficient" public buildings, and also to increase its total grant from \$90,000 to \$105,650 a year.<sup>11</sup> These concessions, slight in themselves, were sufficient to tantalize the province and to convince it that further appeals might get more substantial results.

Two years later a definite promise of better terms was given. The federal government passed legislation enlarging the boundaries of Manitoba and it declared that, as soon as statistical information was secured from the census of 1881, it would deal with the financial requirements of the province "in an impartial spirit".<sup>12</sup> In the next year the promise was fulfilled. The grants to Manitoba were scaled up from \$105,650 to \$286,730 per year.<sup>13</sup> In detail the revision was as follows: (a) the grant for government was made \$50,000 (from being \$30,000); (b) the eighty-cent subsidy was based on an assumed population of 150,000 (instead

<sup>10</sup>*Manitoba journals of the legislative assembly* (henceforth *J.L.A.*), 1879, appendix, 174.

<sup>11</sup>*Dom. stat.*, 1879, c. 2. The increase was only until 1881. It was done in a way which made an important alteration in the basis of the grants. The temporary grant of \$26,750, given by the Mackenzie administration, was wiped out; and the eighty-cent subsidy, which had been \$13,600, was raised to \$56,000 by basing it upon an estimated population of 70,000. The net gain was thus \$15,650. A dispute arose over provision of the public buildings, which was not settled until 1898. Interesting memoranda on this dispute can be found in the Public Archives of Canada, *Papers of Sir MacKenzie Bowell*, XII.

<sup>12</sup>*J.L.A.*, 1881, appendix, cxxv-cxxvi.

<sup>13</sup>*Dom. stat.*, 1882, c. 5.

of 70,000)—actual population in 1881 being 64,800—and therefore it became \$120,000; (c) a new grant of \$45,000 a year—the amount allowed to Prince Edward Island in 1873—was given in lieu of lands. It will be observed that debt allowance was not altered, but the total of Manitoba's subsidies had been more than doubled; and when Tilley, as minister of finance, brought the bill before the House of Commons in Ottawa, he expressed the belief<sup>14</sup> that Manitoba would be satisfied by the new terms for the next ten years.

This belief proved to be an optimistic delusion. Even before the measure was passed, Norquay declared that the revision was merely to cover present emergencies; and during the discussion in the Manitoba legislature none of the members expressed gratitude for the new terms. On the contrary, most declared them to be paltry and insignificant. This attitude had been engrained in Manitoba by the repeated grant of petty favours.

By this time Manitoba had a substantial list of grievances against the federal government. It complained about federal retention of its natural resources, about the Canadian Pacific Railway and exercise of the power of disallowance, and about the federal tariff. These grievances might seem, at first sight, to have no relationship to the question of better terms. In reality the relationship was close, because most of the grievances had their price. The provincial government used them in order to win better terms, and the federal government gave better terms in the hope of quieting agitation.

Let us survey these grievances hastily. First in importance was the so-called "natural resources question". The federal government, in 1870, had retained the natural resources of the province within its control, because it desired to utilize them to build a Pacific railway and because it wished to pursue a homestead policy. At the time no real objection was raised by Manitoba, and until 1881 all that the provincial government asked was that the dominion should give it a subsidy in lieu of its natural resources. But gradually the agitation broadened and the demand was made that full control of the natural resources be placed in the hands of the provincial government. The grievance of Manitoba about the Canadian Pacific Railway had also emerged slowly. At first the province had been very favourably disposed toward the railway, but after the line had reached Winnipeg there was a

<sup>14</sup>*Debates of the House of Commons (henceforth Debates), 1882, 1420.*

change in attitude.<sup>15</sup> The "monopoly clause", which blocked construction of lines to the border of the United States, was much criticized, as was the protection which the federal government gave the Canadian Pacific Railway by using its power of disallowance to kill provincial railway measures. The complaint about the federal tariff was understandable. But it should be noted that Manitoba had voted for the "National Policy" in 1878 and that, until 1888, it maintained a Conservative government in office at Winnipeg.

It is, I believe, correct to say that about none of these questions was there a decisive opinion in the province. Certainly the Norquay administration looked upon them chiefly as tools which could be used to secure the more important object of larger subsidies. The grievances were, however, tools which were double-edged, since they placed an important strategic weapon in the hands of the opposition party in the legislature. Whenever "better terms" were secured, the opposition could ensure that the government would get little credit by alleging that the pecuniary concessions were only a bribe for yielding up vital liberties of the province. More specifically it could charge that Norquay was a servile henchman of Sir John Macdonald.

The course of economic and political events in the 1880's made Manitoba a peculiarly fertile field for this sort of by-play. Agriculture, the life-blood of the province, was seriously depressed. In 1883 the land-boom, which had begun with the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, collapsed disastrously; the wheat crop was injured by frost; the price of wheat fell and continued to fall. Agrarian discontent was rampant and radical organizations were formed to voice the grievances of the farmers. To add to the excitement, the Norquay government plunged into a dangerous quarrel with Ontario at Rat Portage over the boundary between the two provinces. It must be stressed that the dispute was political in origin. Sir John Macdonald wished to discredit his arch-opponent, Oliver Mowat; and he, therefore, encouraged Norquay into taking a stand against the pretensions of Ontario.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup>The change in public opinion can be traced through the files of the *Free press*. In an editorial of May 10, 1878, it declared: "Beside the immense interest which this Province has in the early completion of the Pacific Railway and its branches, everything else affecting Manitoba appears dwarfed in importance." It also defended the plan of assisting the Canadian Pacific Railway by land grants and it approved of the early policy and efforts of the company. (See e.g. editorials of October 4, 1882, July 25, 1882, December 13, 1880, March 17, 1880.) Later it became a leading critic of the railway.

<sup>16</sup>Evidence for this can be found in the Public Archives of Canada, *Macdonald papers and letterbooks*. I will give only two extracts. On July 25, 1883, Sir John wrote

Of course, Norquay expected some sort of compensation. He hoped that his stand at Rat Portage would secure him a generous grant of better terms. In that event the allegation of his enemies, that he was a laggard in pressing the grievances of his province, would be harmless.

In 1884 he went to Ottawa to secure his reward and he soon was promised substantial concessions. Of these the most important was that debt allowance would be raised so that the same *per capita* rate given on an assumed population of 17,000, would now be given on an assumed population of 150,000.<sup>17</sup> This meant an addition of approximately \$181,000 to the revenue which the province would receive from the dominion. However, the federal government made a significant reservation. "These very liberal propositions" were to be submitted to parliament only if they were accepted by the provincial legislature as a final settlement.<sup>18</sup>

The new terms were at once brought before the legislature and they were received with a hostility which was quite unexpected. The obvious target for attack was the so-called "finality clause". Was Manitoba to barter away its right to bring its grievances before the federal government for the sake of some \$180,000? With this as a theme the most impassioned speeches were delivered; and Norquay, fearful that the proposed settlement would be rejected by the legislature, made a bold decision. The tempting financial terms were refused. By this step the thunder of his critics was stolen. Nobody could now allege that his administration was subservient to Sir John Macdonald. Nobody could make it appear that he was less solicitous of the interests of Manitoba than was Greenway, the leader of the opposition.

Sir John was in close touch with the province through Lieutenant-Governor Aikins, and as soon as the Manitoba legislature

to Lieutenant-Governor J. C. Aikins that Ontario was taking possession of the country at Rat Portage and that he should "rouse Norquay to some action in the matter". Dominion support would be given, but Manitoba would have to take the initiative. On August 17, 1883, Sir John wrote to Norquay: "I am greatly pleased to see the manly stand you have adopted at Rat Portage. The conduct of the Ontario government has been most indecent. It has shown an utter want of self-respect and an utter disregard of the claims of a sister province. Keep your ground and you will have all the support that I can give you" (*Macd. ll.-bk.*, no. 22). See also Begg, *History of the North-west* (Toronto, 1895), III, 79-84, 31-46. Begg's statement, that the dominion "looked calmly on while Ontario and Manitoba struggled for possession" (*ibid.*, 46), is hardly correct.

<sup>17</sup>Exactly what this meant was later in dispute. Manitoba was, besides, to be given its swamp lands, and 150,000 acres of other land were to be set aside as an endowment for the University of Manitoba.

<sup>18</sup>*J.L.A.*, 1884, appendix, 180.

had acted, Aikins wrote explaining the situation. It was his belief that

Norquay could not get the House to accept them [the terms] as they are. Had he made the attempt he would surely have been defeated . . . . I can well understand the desire on your part to put an end to the persistent appeals from the Province for financial aid. Notwithstanding this I think it is a pity that such a condition as the finality clause was attached. . . .<sup>19</sup>

This opinion Sir John refused to accept and he penned a vigorous reply:

You say that Norquay would have been defeated if he had pressed for acceptance of the "better terms". I think he made a great mistake in not pressing them and voting for them. I think too the Legislature made a great mistake. If it had been asked to abandon any legal rights it might have been different, but no one of Manitoba's demands are legal in the sense that they could be enforced before a legal tribunal. The government here took all this into consideration and took the responsibility of agreeing to ask Parliament for these better terms as being highly expedient and not as being legally due Manitoba. This was done first for the purpose of relieving Manitoba, and then for peace sake. It is obvious that Parliament will not sanction favours (not rights) being granted, if there is still to be a pressure and an agitation whenever a demagogue like Greenway chooses to get up a cry and a Ministry is in power afraid of the effects of such a cry. Depend upon it Parliament won't agree to this. In 1869 when Parliament granted "better terms" to Nova Scotia, Blake moved that they should be in full of all demands and you will find a clause to that effect in the Statutes of 1869, page 18. Last session here British Columbia was granted better terms and acts were passed here and in Victoria accepting them in full. I don't think Nova Scotia has suffered from the provision and British Columbia was not a bit afraid that she would suffer. As matters now stand our offers for the sake of peace have been rejected and therefore do not exist and may never be repeated. At all events everything is thrown over for a year. . . .<sup>20</sup>

Despite this rebuke, Norquay did not sense the growing irritation of the federal government at his begging expeditions. When he arrived at Ottawa once more, however, he got a cool reception.

<sup>19</sup>*Macd. papers*, Provincial affairs, Manitoba: Letter of May 30, 1884.

<sup>20</sup>*Macd. lt.-bk.*, no. 22: Letter of June 1, 1884. In a later letter, July 28, 1884, Sir John wrote Aikins that he should press upon his ministers the need of "agreeing to the liberal terms offered by the government here. Never was such folly as the refusal of those terms."

A letter from Aikins to Sir John, July 13, 1884, gives an interesting sidelight on the prevalent discontent: "A good crop will do more to allay the petulant feeling that exists than any concessions you could make to the provincial government. The disappointed speculators are largely at the bottom of the loud-mouthed talking there has been here" (*Macd. papers*, Provincial affairs, Manitoba).

The sub-committee of the federal cabinet which met him was positively bellicose. Upon what grounds, it asked, did Manitoba demand unconditional control of its natural resources? Had not the dominion purchased the North-west from the Hudson's Bay Company? Had it not incurred a heavy expenditure to secure and to settle this area? And what could the provincial government of Manitoba do, if it had the natural resources, that the federal government was not already doing? In this manner every complaint of Manitoba was dissected. Clearly the sub-committee was attempting to out-herod Herod, by adopting a mode of argument even more injudicious than that of the provincial government.<sup>21</sup>

For two weeks after this first meeting Norquay was left to cool his heels at Ottawa. Faced by an uncompromising attitude on the part of the federal cabinet, he must have felt that his strategy of defiance was proving to be singularly ineffective. At last Sir John relented. Norquay was given a new set of concessions; but, as before, these concessions were to be made only if Manitoba accepted them "as a settlement of all questions in discussion" between the province and the dominion.<sup>22</sup>

The difference between the first and the second arrangement was principally a difference in form. The subsidy in lieu of lands, amounting to \$45,000 a year, had not been touched by the first scheme, but now it was raised to \$100,000 a year, an increase of \$55,000. On the other hand, the debt allowance was now to be calculated (at \$32.44 *per capita*) on an assumed population of 125,000 rather than 150,000. This amounted to a decrease of \$811,000, and it meant that receipt of interest from the dominion would be less by \$40,550 than under the previous proposal. The net financial gain was thus only \$14,450 a year.

When the new scheme became known, Norquay's opponents, temporarily silenced by the gesture of defiance, took up the old line of attack with redoubled vigour. He was denounced roundly for his "humiliating surrender to the federal authorities", for his "betrayal of his province". He was not, however, the man to remain passive under attack; and on presenting the new agreement to the legislature (March 25, 1885), he made a powerful appeal for its acceptance. Previous concessions made by the dominion had, he declared, been merely acts of charity, but this time Manitoba was placed upon an "equality" with its sister provinces. The grant of \$100,000 a year in lieu of lands was, he thought, excep-

<sup>21</sup>*J.L.A.*, 1885, appendix A, 27.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 38.

tionally favourable. If the dominion had turned over the public domain not yet alienated, the provincial government could not have expected to draw any such sum from its disposition. Some of the demands made upon the dominion had been denied; but these were, Norquay discovered, in no sense vital.

In this manner Norquay urged acceptance of the new terms. Of course, the opposition in the legislature was not converted. But after a stormy sitting, it was voted down and the agreement was ratified. The *Winnipeg times*, the principal newspaper which gave support to Norquay, now hoped for peace; and it made a suggestion to this end: "Let all the people throughout the province settle down to a rational state of mind, give over the folly of conventions and unions and apply ourselves to raising No. 1 hard."<sup>23</sup>

Judged on fiscal grounds, it might seem that Norquay had scored a real success. Manitoba now drew \$441,400 a year from the federal treasury, and, on a *per capita* basis, this was much more than any other province.<sup>24</sup> But Norquay got no credit for his achievement and the federal government got none for its generosity. The explanation is simple. Agitation had become a settled policy in the province and went forward from its own weight. The people were not content to apply themselves "to raising No. 1 hard". The functions of farming and of speculating were indissolubly combined, and speculation both lived upon and created an atmosphere of excitement. In these circumstances, the opponents of the government were fortunately situated. Unencumbered by responsibilities, they could meet the wishes of the electors by advocating extreme policies; and the government,

<sup>23</sup>Editorial, March 28, 1885.

<sup>24</sup>The \$441,400 was divided as follows: subsidy in lieu of lands, \$100,000; grant for government, \$50,000; interest on debt allowance, \$171,400; *per capita* subsidy, \$120,000. The interest received on debt allowance requires some explanation. By the general adjustment of 1884 the sum of \$110,800 was added to the net balance of \$203,900 which Manitoba then had, raising its total to \$314,700. By the 1885-6 revision (*Dom. stat.*, 1885-6, c. 50) \$4,054,700 more was added, bringing the total to \$4,369,400. From this, however, a deduction of \$941,400 was made, because of previous advances allowed the provincial government, leaving a net debt allowance of \$3,428,000.

Another important concession, which concerned the manner of calculating the eighty-cent subsidy, was made in 1885. The rule was for this subsidy to be based upon population as shown by each decennial census. But for Manitoba a quinquennial census was to be taken, an estimate of population was to be made midway between each census, and payment was to be based upon population as found on each of these occasions (*ibid.*, sec. 4). The justification for this special treatment was that, for a province which was increasing rapidly in population, a decennial basis was unfair. It should be noticed that actual population had never been used in previous calculations of the subsidies due to Manitoba.



in self-defense, was soon forced into 'new agitation and new promises.

Another reason why the grant of "better terms" failed to purchase peace for the dominion was the "finality clause". Some sceptics warned that Manitoba was being bound by ropes of sand.<sup>25</sup> But even they must have been astonished by the sequel. Not only did the finality clause fail to check agitation; it was itself a most effective inspiration of new assaults upon the dominion. In later years the clause was held up to view as a peculiar humiliation put upon Manitoba during its infancy.<sup>26</sup> There can be no question as to the polemical effectiveness of this argument, but if the finality clause in any way restricted Manitoba's demands upon the federal government, the evidence has not been disclosed. Not one of the major grievances presented by the provincial government in 1884 was excluded from later controversy.

For the next decade financial demands did not occupy a prominent place in disputes between Manitoba and the dominion. Late in 1886, Norquay went to the people for re-election and was successfully returned, although with a reduced majority. It can, I think, be asserted that there was popular endorsement of Norquay's success in getting "better terms". But the new weapon, which the opposition used more and more to belabour the government, was disallowance; and through it Norquay was soon forced into a hopeless contest with the dominion which was directly responsible for his downfall. Early in 1888 the Liberals, led by Greenway, took office. The Greenway administration, as might be expected, was sharply antagonistic to Macdonald; but the battles which it fought were not for "better terms". First, disallowance and then the separate school question, occupied its attention; and it is fair to conclude that the year 1886 marks the end of a period in the history of Manitoba's agitation for larger subsidies.

What can be said, in conclusion, about federal policy in this respect toward Manitoba during these first sixteen years? That

<sup>25</sup>From the letter quoted above it can be seen that Sir John Macdonald did not take the clause literally. During the debate in the House of Commons he made some ambiguous remarks about the clause and he refused to state just what were the questions now declared to be settled. By way of illustration, however, he did say that there was finality with respect to the swamp lands dispute (*Debates*, 1885, 2783). Even this cautious prediction was, of course, falsified by later events.

<sup>26</sup>See Martin, *The natural resources question*, 87: "Increased subsidy of \$100,000 in 1885 was made contingent upon 'finality clause' which has left a sense of humiliation deeper even than 'disallowance' and 'the monopoly clause' of the C.P.R. upon the political traditions of the province." The total increase of the dominion's payment to the province in 1885 was, as has been noted, approximately \$195,000.

it was bungling beyond all excuse and that it generated an unfortunate attitude in the province is clear beyond dispute. But if any injury was inflicted upon Manitoba by the federal government, deficient subsidies were not a cause and larger subsidies would not have been a remedy.<sup>27</sup> In any case, it does not appear that Manitoba had good ground to consider herself the Cinderella of Confederation. John Norquay, premier from 1878 to 1887, was a supporter of Sir John Macdonald, and it was not part of the policy of Sir John to discriminate in this way against provincial governments which were his friends.

J. A. MAXWELL

<sup>27</sup>The following approximate figures of *per capita* subsidies show that Manitoba received more, relatively, from the federal treasury than any province except British Columbia:

	1871	1882	1886
Manitoba.....	\$5.50	\$3.04	\$4.12
Ontario.....	.64	.61	.67
Nova Scotia.....	1.21	.85	.97
British Columbia.....	5.96	3.70	2.90

Too great emphasis should not be put upon these figures. They are not strictly comparable and I do not know any satisfactory way to correct them.

## THE *PARTI ROUGE* AND THE CLERGY

OF all the great colonizing powers of Europe, none took the missionary function of colonization more seriously than did France. From the beginning the church had assumed a place of first importance in Canadian life. The British conquest had altered the situation only by removing the French lay authorities so as to leave the clergy the undisputed leaders of all who were of French descent and Roman Catholic religion. The priesthood embraced with ardour the task of preserving the faith and nationality of their parishioners, endangered by an alien government. This task grew in seriousness and difficulty with the growth in population and importance of Upper Canada, containing a people mainly Protestant of the evangelical sects, definitely anti-Catholic in their prejudices. These Presbyterians and Methodists needed only the right occasion and leadership to attack with enthusiasm the privileges, financial and educational, of the Roman Catholic Church. Accordingly, a political union in which the Upper Canadians provided half the legislators gave the clergy of the lower province some cause for apprehension. They could feel secure only if at all times they could count upon the support of the entire Lower Canadian delegation.

In these circumstances it was inevitable that a conflict should arise between the clergy and the little group of Liberals, promptly dubbed "*Rouges*" by their opponents, who flocked to the banner of the repatriated L. J. Papineau in 1848. As a party these young Liberals did not consider themselves anti-clerical, and most of them, if not unduly pious, were reasonably good Catholics. But their chief, Papineau, had led the Rebellion of 1837 which the church had roundly condemned. Since then he had been in Paris associating with republicans, and his new followers avowedly drew their inspiration from revolutionary, atheistic France, as well as from the United States. Such a group was hardly one to inspire confidence in the clerical breast, quite apart from the specific planks of their radical platform.

The very earliest activities of the party were not alarming. Led by Papineau the members attacked Lafontaine's supine acceptance of British rule disguised as responsible government. They were strongly nationalistic. Papineau, indeed, co-operated with Bishop Bourget in securing Elgin's support of a scheme to

colonize the Eastern Townships by French Canadians, which had been forbidden by the pre-union government.

But almost at once the party began to display radical tendencies. A newspaper, *L'Avenir*, was purchased in 1849 and under the editorship of J. B. E. Dorion became the *rouge* mouthpiece. It soon bore the sub-title, *Journal républicain, publié dans les intérêts populaires*. In addition to the attacks upon the "deception" of responsible government, all sorts of reforms were advocated, notably the annexation of Canada by the United States. This proposal was hardly compatible with a solicitude for the Canadian "nation".<sup>1</sup> Indeed, its accomplishment would have meant the submergence of the French-Canadian group in the great North American federation, the almost certain destruction of the distinctive French-Canadian characteristics, and the probable loss to the church of its special privileges which had survived the conquest.

The proposal of annexation alone would have secured the enmity of the clergy, but these Liberals also advocated the abolition of the *dîme* and some even supported "mixed" schools when the issue arose in parliament.<sup>2</sup> They were opposed to a state religion and to the public support of religious enterprise. Furthermore, although the rank and file of the party were professing Roman Catholics, certain leading spirits were strongly anti-clerical. As soon as the clergy began to speak against the Liberals, these members began a counter-attack of pamphlets. L. A. Dessaulles was one of the busiest of the pamphleteers and his ideas were republican and definitely anti-clerical.<sup>3</sup> Naturally these expressions of opinion were taken as representative of the whole party.

An interesting phase of the struggle between the party and the church is to be found in the history of the *Institut canadien*, a literary and scientific society founded in Montreal in 1844 for the purpose of study and discussion. Its mottoes were *Altius Tendi-*

<sup>1</sup>One of the earliest platforms had contained the plank "French Canadians first", but this was dropped by 1850 as incompatible with annexation. (See *L'Avenir* for January 4, 1850.)

<sup>2</sup>In the autumn session of 1855 the Clear Grits under George Brown vigorously attacked the separate-school system. They were supported by several *rouges*, especially by one Papin, a leading member of the party. Although the party did not act at all unanimously on the question, it was now permanently branded as anti-clerical and even anti-religious.

<sup>3</sup>His *Six lectures sur l'annexion du Canada aux États-Unis* (Montréal, 1851) is typical. In this pamphlet he named the emperor, the czar, and the pope as the three despots of Europe. He favoured annexation partly because it promised to deliver Canada from the grasp of the church.

*mus* and *Travail et Concorde* and its device, a beehive. Nothing could have been more innocent and praiseworthy than such a club, apparently. But it had attracted to membership many of the young lawyers and students who formed the nucleus of the Papineau Liberals and in time came to be recognized as a sort of unofficial headquarters of the party.<sup>4</sup>

At first the club prospered exceedingly, chiefly, perhaps, because it acquired a collection of books and periodicals in a city without a public library. It was imitated all over the province by clubs not actually affiliated but having the same name and purpose. In 1852 the Montreal *Institut* was incorporated by act of parliament, its president at the time being Joseph Doutre, prominent *rouge*. Among those mentioned in the charter of incorporation were A. A. Dorion, who was to succeed Papineau as party leader, R. Laflamme, J. E. Coderre, P. R. Lafrenaye, and other Liberals. As an instance of the political importance of the institute, it is frequently mentioned that at a meeting in 1854, fourteen members were the recipients of congratulations on being elected to parliament.

It was about this time that the church began its active opposition. When the Montreal *Institut* amended its constitution to permit those who were not French Canadians by birth or alliance to become members, the clergy took advantage of the opportunity and promptly founded rival societies called *Instituts nationaux*, with emphasis upon the adjective. Since incorporation, the various *Instituts canadiens* had been receiving small annual grants from parliament, and this encouragement was now claimed and obtained for the *Instituts nationaux* as well.<sup>5</sup> By encouraging their parishioners to join the new clubs and influencing them to resign their membership in the *Instituts canadiens*, the priests soon succeeded either in driving all the smaller institutes out of existence or in obtaining control of them.

Only the parent society in Montreal withstood the pressure. In 1857 it could boast an active membership of seven hundred, and was for a time well able to compete with its new rivals, the *Cabinet du lecture et cercle littéraire* of the Sulpicians, and the *Union catholique* of the Jesuits.

<sup>4</sup>*L'Avenir* for November 20, 1847, reports a meeting of the institute on November 18 at which the question was debated: "L'établissement de communautés religieuses en grand nombre peut-il contribuer à l'avancement d'un pays?" The affirmative, which won, was upheld by MM. Labrèche-Viger, Doutre, and Laberge, the negative by MM. R. Laflamme, Blanchet, and Papin. All of these were to be prominent in the new party.

<sup>5</sup>L. O. David and others asserted that some of these societies existed only on paper, although the subventions were claimed and paid.

The clergy at first made an attempt to gain control of the institute by peaceful methods. Motions were put to exclude non-Catholic members and to banish from the reading-room the *Witness* and the *Semeur canadien*, two anti-Catholic journals. These resolutions were debated earnestly, but the majority decided to hold fast to the fundamentals of the club's constitution in regard to equality of creeds and origins and liberty to read all "expressions of public opinion".

The character of the institute's library then came under discussion, and the membership divided on the question of the fitness of books included in it. The majority, however, still held its ground and passed resolutions declaring that all the books were unexceptionable and that the members of the institute were capable of judging the contents of their own library without clerical guidance. At once Bishop Bourget of Montreal wrote a pastoral letter in which he referred to the institute's decision. He pointed out two grave errors into which it had fallen: first, in declaring that its members were capable of judging the morality of books, a matter pertaining to the office of bishop; second, in declaring the library to contain no immoral books when some were on the *Index* at Rome. He further cited a decision of the Council of Trent relative to the penalties due those who kept objectionable books and closed his letter with an appeal to the institute members to reconsider their attitude as otherwise no Roman Catholic could be a member.<sup>6</sup> This appeal had considerable success. One hundred and fifty members resigned and founded the *Institut canadien français*, a lay society, presumably in sympathy with the clerical point of view. It was hoped by this means to attract the waverers who wished for peace and a way out of the difficulty but disliked leaving the institute for a society openly under the direction of priests.

It should by now have been fairly evident to the remaining members that there could be but one conclusion to the struggle. But they were made of the stuff of martyrs, radicals, and such obstinate folk. The bishop had maligned their library. Very well!

<sup>6</sup>*Lettres pastorales de Mgr L'Evêque de Montréal, contre les erreurs du temps, etc.* (Montréal, n.d.) contains a reprint of Bourget's pastoral letters of December 9, 1854, and subsequent dates. His first letter denounced "le philosophisme" of "l'Ecole Voltairienne" with only a passing reference to the institute. The second letter was directed specifically against the institute, declaring that the club was incapable of judging the morality of its library: "Et en effet, il s'ensuivrait qu'aucun catholique ne pourrait plus appartenir à cet Institut; que personne ne pourrait lire les livres de sa bibliothèque, et qu'aucun ne pourrait à l'avenir assister à ses séances, ni aller écouter ses lectures. Ces fâcheux résultats seraient la conséquence nécessaire de l'attitude anti-catholique, que prendrait cet Institut, en persistant dans sa révolte contre l'Eglise."

he should be given the catalogue and requested politely, with perhaps a hidden smile of triumph, to name the immoral books included therein.<sup>7</sup> Bishop Bourget kept the catalogue for about six months, and then, when a committee called upon him to learn the verdict, returned it without indicating any particular books as objectionable. Whatever may have been his reasons for refusing to answer the request, we may safely assume that he had determined that the institute must go. No matter how apparently submissive its attitude or fair its promises, he was doubtless convinced that "liberalism", Catholic as well as political, was in its very atmosphere. He retained the pastoral ban previously proclaimed, with the religious penalties attached, refusal of the sacraments to all non-recanting members even when *in articulo mortis*.

As a result of the events outlined above, the once flourishing institute was reduced by 1867 to about three hundred members, of whom only one hundred and fifty could pay their dues. But this remnant was determined to fight to the last gasp.

In December, 1868, the redoubtable L. A. Dessaulles delivered an address on toleration, upholding as ideal the precepts of the sermon on the mount. Bishop Bourget was greatly offended, and had the institute's *Annuaire* for 1868, in which the speech was printed, placed on the *Index*.<sup>8</sup> At this same meeting Horace

<sup>7</sup>The *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de l'Institut-Canadien* (Montréal, 1870) shows the library to have contained about 7,000 volumes. There were works on philosophy, religion, political economy, fiction, poetry, law, history, memoirs, biography, science, agriculture, natural history, etc. Here are some of the titles: William Cobbett, *Histoire de la réforme protestante*; J. Jenkins, *Protestant's appeal*, etc.; the Rev. William Nevins, *Thoughts on popery*; P. J. Proudhon, *Confessions d'un révolutionnaire*; Barbey d'Aureville, *Un amour impossible*; J. J. Rousseau, *Confessions* (two copies), *Oeuvres complètes*; Ariosto, *L'Orlando Furioso*; Voltaire, *Works*; *Satires de Juvenal*; Thiers, *Révolution française*; Holy Bible.

J. B. E. Dorion, *Institut-canadien en 1852* (Montréal, 1852), contains (p. 107) a list of the books received by the institute since February 17, 1850. These included: *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, *Étude de Mirabeau*, *Théâtre français*, *Essai sur le despotisme*, *Juvenalis Satyra*, *Émile*, *Lettres sur l'annexion* par L. A. Dessaulles, *Massacre de St-Barthélemy*, *Lettres de Ninon*, *Awful exposure of Maria Monk*. Some of these titles must certainly have caught the bishop's eye and many would be regarded to-day as hardly suitable for adolescent reading.

<sup>8</sup>Dessaulles commenced his address by adverting to the persecution of the institute. He denounced the folly and cruelty and anti-Christian character of intolerance, quoting Bishop du Bellai and St. Francis of Sales, as well as a vast number of other authorities. His whole speech was an essay on tolerance and, in effect, an attempt to prove that by their intolerance the Catholic authorities of Montreal had shown themselves un-Christian. He was bitter at the claim of the clergy that the members of the *Institut canadien* were rebels against the church, this in the face of the fact that they had appealed to Rome for a decision. "Nous ne sommes pas hostiles, mais quand nous sommes condamnés sans être entendus nous le ressentons!" Horace Greeley was present on this occasion and addressed the meeting. His first paragraph follows: "Pour l'homme véritablement libéral dans le siècle où nous vivons, il n'est plus qu'un pays: le monde; une religion: l'amour; un patriotisme: civiliser et faire du bien à la famille humaine. . . ." This speech was hailed "par les marques du plus vif enthousiasme".



Greeley addressed the members on toleration and freedom, while A. Geoffrion said in another speech: ". . . It is the age of noble and disinterested aspirations; the age when no selfish interest imposes silence on the conscience; the age, finally, when man has not yet learned to wear a yoke."

But for all these fine words, the church won, and won decisively. Following the bishop's pronouncement noted above, the institute appealed to Rome against his ruling. There was no response, and in 1869 Gonzalve Doutre was sent over to press the claims of the society before the proper authorities.<sup>9</sup> He managed to see various cardinals and high officials, but his mission was a complete failure. Bishop Bourget, then in Rome at the Vatican council, was able to write a pastoral letter home announcing the rejection of the institute's appeal and emphasizing once again the sin involved in belonging to the objectionable society and in keeping its 1868 *Annuaire*. Again it was stated that offenders against these instructions would be denied the sacraments "même à l'article de la mort".

The dying institute made a last attempt to pacify Bourget. At a meeting on September 23, 1869, it passed two resolutions declaring:

1. That the *Institut-Canadien*, the object of whose foundation is purely literary and scientific, teaches no doctrine of any kind and carefully excludes all teachings of pernicious doctrine.
2. That the Catholic members of the *Institut-Canadien* having learned of the condemnation of the *Annuaire* of 1868 of the *Institut-Canadien*, declare that they submit purely and simply to this decree.

But the bishop was not thus easily appeased. He denounced the resolutions as hypocritical because they were ". . . part of a report of the Committee, unanimously approved by the *Institut*, in which a resolution is proclaimed, until then kept secret, which establishes the principle of religious toleration which has been the principal ground of the condemnation of the *Institut*". It is claimed by M. David that condemnation of religious toleration had not been mentioned previously and so came as a surprise to Doutre, Dessaulles, and the rest. However, it was the resolution of the institute passed many years before, opening its doors to all

<sup>9</sup>L. A. Dessaulles had also been carrying on a dispute by correspondence with Cardinal Barnabo, prefect of the propaganda. See *Dernière correspondance entre le Cardinal Barnabo et M. Dessaulles* (Montréal, 1871). In his letters Dessaulles pointed out that Catholics nowhere were actually expected to observe the *Index* faithfully. Nowhere was the reading of books on the *Index* considered a serious matter, let alone a sufficient reason for excommunication, even in Montreal itself. Why then the discrimination against the library of the *Institut canadien*?

creeds and races, which had been the occasion of the first open manifestation of clerical hostility. At any rate, one thing was abundantly clear—Bishop Bourget was determined to give no quarter. The institute must go. No matter how fine-sounding its resolutions and how moral its precepts, the prelate was well aware that its atmosphere was not one conducive to a proper submission to authority. Had there not already been sufficient proof of that?<sup>10</sup>

It must be kept in mind that the churchmen of Canada were as well aware as were the *rouges* of the liberal tendencies of the times in Europe. They, too, were influenced, but of course, in a contrary manner and in line with the strong ultramontane spirit permeating the church at this time. The French Revolution had killed Gallicanism. No longer able to turn to the king or the government for support, the French bishops naturally relied more and more upon Rome. This tendency naturally had its influence in Canada and the hierarchy in general embraced the ultramontane idea with enthusiasm. Bishop Bourget was especially active in encouraging the tendency.<sup>11</sup> Then, too, in France as in Canada, there had been a counter-tendency within the church, an attempt to reconcile Catholic doctrine with the new liberalism. The leaders in this movement, such men as Lamennais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert, advocated a complete separation of church and state in order that the church might pursue its own path unhindered by politics. This idea, in harmony with the doctrines of the modern school of "pluralist" political theorists, found many followers in Canada. Laurier is reported to have declared himself

<sup>10</sup>The *Annuaire de l'Institut-canadien* for 1869, is taken up with an account of the Guibord case and an article by L. A. Dessaulles on *L'Index*. The defeat of the institute is clearly reflected in the *Annuaire* for 1870 which is one long bitter cry against the tactics used by the society's enemies. It concludes with a list of those subscribing to pay off the institute's debts. A majority of the names are those of Anglo-Canadians. See also *Lettres sur le Canada*, 3me lettre, 9 février, 1867 (Press of *Le Pays*, Montréal). This anonymous pamphlet is another bitter cry against clerical interference in politics, evidently written by a *rouge* "die-hard".

<sup>11</sup>See anonymous *History of the Guibord case* (Montréal, 1875, Gagnon collection, I, 1585), 136-9.

In 1856, Bishop Bourget, on his return from a visit to Rome, introduced the Roman liturgy, differing somewhat from the old French liturgy heretofore in use, despite popular opposition to the change. He tried also to have established a new Jesuit University in Montreal but was prevented by the friends of Laval at Rome. Upon the occasion of his *noces d'or* in 1872, a sermon was preached by one Father Braun "in which the pretensions of Ultramontanism were pushed to the extreme, and the hierarchy exalted to the level of divinity".

See also *L'Opinion publique* for February 8, 1872, for a sketch of Mgr Bourget by L. O. David in his *Galerie nationale* series. The bishop is described as a man of inflexible will and of thoroughly ultramontane views. He is reported as having made five trips to Rome "... et chaque fois il en est revenu plus zélé et plus attaché que jamais au trône pontifical".

in 1897 to be a disciple of Lacordaire. The ideas of these "Catholic Liberals" were strongly repugnant to Rome, almost as much so as were those of the thorough-going Erastians. They owed too many of their ideas to the inspiration of Rousseau and were too much concerned with the "rights of man" and the "social compact". Gregory XVI launched an encyclical, *Mirari vos*, against "Catholic liberalism" in 1832 and Pius IX included it among the many things condemned in his *Syllabus of errors* in 1864.

It is not too much to say that all over the world the priesthood was roused to a militancy it had not displayed since the Counter-Reformation. Wherever liberalism raised its head it was to be attacked with all the fury of a St. George or a St. Michael. The spirit of crusade was abroad again. Anglo-Canadian Protestants, French-Canadian *rouges*, both were suspect; but the Protestant enemy was to be expected—the *rouges* were regarded as vipers, nourished in the bosom of the church, and now ready to strike at the breast that had fed them. Small wonder that the church retained its bellicose attitude long after the fight was over. Indeed, the Liberal party, even of the '80's and '90's felt the weight of this opposition, for the clergy continued to tilt at the harmless Liberal windmill in the belief that it was the frowning fortress of the *rouges*. Senator David failed to understand why the Quebec hierarchy retained for so long its uncompromising opposition to everything and everyone tagged with the word "liberal". This then is the reason. The church had been thoroughly aroused. It was not merely the *rouge* tradition of anti-clericalism, but the tradition of all nineteenth-century radicalism, lay and clerical, that bore so heavily in the last decades of the century upon the Liberal party in Quebec.

No history of the *Institut canadien* is complete without including some mention of Joseph Guibord, or rather of his burial.

Guibord was a printer by trade, an excellent craftsman, a respectable citizen, a Roman Catholic, and a member of the institute. He was one of those who had petitioned the Pope in 1865 against Bishop Bourget's pronouncement. His claim to fame was due to the accident of his death on November 18, following the receipt of Bourget's letter from Rome. Struck down by a paralytic seizure, he died before any priest could be summoned to his side. His widow, a devout Roman Catholic, at once applied for permission to bury his remains in the cemetery of the *Côte des Neiges*. The *curé* refused to give the necessary permission, in

accord with his instructions to forbid the ecclesiastical sepulture of members of the *Institut canadien* who died without renouncing the society. Madame Guibord was told that her husband's body might be buried in the unconsecrated portion of the cemetery. This offer was indignantly rejected and the remains temporarily placed in a vault in the Protestant cemetery.

It is needless here again to recount in all its detail the unedifying story of the ensuing quarrel.<sup>12</sup> A brief summary will suffice. Guibord's friends of the institute espoused the cause of his widow, brought the case to court, and were in their first attempt successful. Judge Mondelet agreed that under the law of Quebec church burial was a civil right and that it had not been proved that Guibord had forfeited the right. The church authorities appealed to the court of review. This body reversed Mondelet's decision on technical grounds. Madame Guibord appealed to the court of queen's bench, and here, Joseph Doutre,<sup>13</sup> the institute's champion, challenged the competence of the Roman Catholic judges, four out of the five composing the court. He argued that as loyal Catholics they would be bound by the *Syllabus* to uphold ecclesiastical as against civil law and therefore would be unfit to settle the Guibord case. The single Protestant judge joined with his colleagues in denouncing the plea of *recusatio judicis* as equivalent to a charge of treason, and Doutre moved an appeal to the privy council. Poor Madame Guibord, torn between the advice of Doutre and the members of the institute on the one hand, and that of her Catholic friends on the other, who assured her that her salvation was in danger, nearly lost her reason and died in March, 1873. She had made the institute her universal legatee and, as such, the society carried on the expensive process.

The judicial committee of the privy council decided in favour of Doutre's contentions except his plea of *recusatio judicis* and

<sup>12</sup>*History of the Guibord case* gives what seems to be a very fair and complete account of the matter. The Roman Catholic point of view is presented in two pamphlets: *Réflexions d'un Catholique à l'occasion de l'affaire Guibord* (Montréal, 1870, Gagnon collection, I, 1582), and *Supplément aux réflexions d'un Catholique, etc.* (Montréal, 1871, Gagnon collection, I, 1583).

<sup>13</sup>Doutre was one of the most redoubtable of the *rouges*. An example of the extent to which he carried his anti-clerical hatred is found in a selection from his pen quoted by an anonymous *bleu* pamphleteer in *Les tendances Libérales, etc.* (Québec, 1874): "Déjà notre Société étreinte dans le replis du SERPENT allait expirer sans jeter le cri d'alarme. C'est la main d'un mort qui la rappellera à la vie, c'est Guibord encore gisant sur le sol qui arrachera le masque de la défense. Honneur soit rendu aux sauvages de ce Continent qui avaient commencé à supprimer du sol canadien la première semence de la sainte Société de Jésus!!" Says the author of the pamphlet: "... Quand on songe qu'un homme civilisé peut pousser sa rage contre le clergé jusqu'à approuver les massacres des Pères Bréboeuf et Lallemand par les sauvages! Voilà où conduisent les idées libérales."

ordered the church authorities to permit Guibord's burial in consecrated ground. But the matter was not ended even yet.

The first attempt to bury Guibord at the *Côte des Neiges* was frustrated by a hostile mob which stoned the hearse. It has been claimed and denied that the church authorities and priests were responsible for this defiance of civil authority. Bishop Bourget had written to the mayor, warning him of the probable disorder and expressing his confidence that the police would be present to prevent such an unseemly event. Mayor Hingston and the chief of police were very evidently not at all anxious to annoy the sentiments of the French-Canadian population and were perhaps not entirely sure of the loyalty of the police in the circumstances. At all events, the police were not sent, and the bishop must be absolved from blame for what happened.

The Roman Catholic press made much of the incident. *La Minerve* claimed that the funeral had now been postponed to await the recruitment of

a troop of Orangemen and fanatical Grits from Upper Canada who will be organized to strengthen the hands of our *rouges*. . . It is thanks to this handful of wretched *rouges* and apostates that we are attacked in our religious sentiments, and are threatened with a fresh hubbub worse than that which took place on Thursday [the first attempt at burial]. These men without heart or patriotism do not fear to excite Protestant and English fanaticism against their compatriots, and to ally themselves even with the sects of Upper Canada to shed the blood of their brethren. The *rouge* party and the *Institut* have dug their own grave in digging that of Guibord.<sup>14</sup>

At last on a rainy day in November, 1875, the body of Guibord was buried, where his wife already lay, in a small plot in the cemetery of *Notre Dame des Neiges*. This time there was no disturbance. The ecclesiastical authorities had firmly forbidden any further demonstration. None occurred other than the remarks of a few idlers who watched the workmen pour a mixture of cement and scrap metal on top of the coffin to prevent clandestine disinterment.

The incident was over, but not forgotten. Doutre had won a Pyrrhic victory. He had given the final blow to the *Institut canadien*. Many of the most prominent members, men whom no one would accuse of cowardice, had early seen the futility of the struggle and dropped out. Soon after Guibord's death, A. A. Dorion realized that he must choose between the institute and a

<sup>14</sup>Quoted on p. 69 of *History of the Guibord case*.

political career. He chose the latter. Soon Geoffrion did likewise. R. Laflamme retained his membership for a time and despite this handicap was elected to parliament in 1872. Two years later, on the eve of a general election, he resigned from the institute and retained his seat by acclamation. A few Anglo-Canadians came to the financial assistance of the society but before long it was compelled to disband, and its books were taken over by the Fraser Institute where they remain as part of a public library.

No other incident contributed so much as did this *cause célèbre* to the embitterment of the clergy and their continued opposition to the Liberal party.

Another interesting aspect of the contest may be traced in the newspaper files of the day. For the most part the avowed *rouge* organs enjoyed but a brief existence. The priests forbade their parishioners to subscribe to these journals or read them. At no time did the party have any wealthy supporters who could afford to make the papers financially independent. The result was a succession of newspapers, each of which would flourish for a short time only to fall under the ecclesiastical ban and die, starved of subscribers and advertisers. It was customary to change the paper's name once in a while in an attempt to escape the clerical curse, but this expedient was not always effective.

There is no need here to retrace the ground covered by Professor Sait in his book, *Clerical control in Quebec* (Toronto, 1911). However, we may note the fate of two of the more important *rouge* organs. *L'Avenir*, the first one, lasted about three years. Under the editorship of J. B. E. Dorion it had early assumed an attitude very distasteful to the clergy. It acclaimed the French Revolution, the destruction of the pope's temporal authority, and attacked the *dîme*. This policy resulted in a boycott that ended its career in January, 1852. Various papers of the same name and of even more radical tendencies appeared from time to time but none of these was a real *rouge* organ. The next official spokesman for the party was *Le Pays* of Montreal, edited for a while by L. A. Desaulles and Louis Labrèche-Viger. This journal was far more moderate in tone than *L'Avenir* had been, especially in matters concerning the church, but it, too, was banned and eventually forced out of existence.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup>Mgr Bourget's official part in this is evidenced by his "Dénonciation du Journal 'Le Pays', Supplément du Mandement 31 mai, 1860". This is printed in *Fiorelli Vescovili, ou extraits des mandements, etc., de Monseigneur Ignace Bourget, etc.* (Montréal, 1872).

It is interesting to note that the young Wilfrid Laurier assumed the editorship of a paper called *Le Défricheur* in 1866, upon the death of its founder, J. B. E. Dorion, a prominent *rouge*. Although not primarily political in its aims this paper had been found objectionable by Bishop Laflèche of Three Rivers and its final issue appeared in April, 1867.<sup>16</sup>

Of course, in addition to this negative action in connection with the *rouge* organs, the clergy received plenty of positive assistance in their war from the numerous *bleu* journals of the province. The most remarkable example of positive clerical direction by means of the press was the publication of an article in the *Journal des Trois-Rivières* containing detailed instructions for the guidance of Roman Catholic voters. This appeared in the issue of April 20, 1870.<sup>17</sup> Except for a quotation from a pastoral letter of the Bishop of Three Rivers, it did not, to be sure, claim any ecclesiastical authority. The principal argument of the article was as follows:

... the separation of Church and State is an absurd and impious doctrine ... full and entire adhesion to Roman Catholic doctrines in religion, in politics and in social economy ought to be the first and principal qualification which Catholic electors should require from the candidate.

It was also made clear that the Conservative party had been the protector and guarantor of the liberties and privileges of the church and that, therefore, Conservative candidates should be supported at the polls. Thus the Conservative majority would be assured, and the full liberties accorded the Catholic church under the Canadian constitution would be preserved. The bishops would continue to possess "the immense advantage of being able to govern the Church of Canada according to the immediate prescriptions and directions of the Holy See and the Church of Rome, the Mother and Mistress of all the Churches". If the laws contained anything dangerous to Catholic interests, the candidate should be pledged to do all in his power to change them in that particular. "It is the duty of the electors to give their votes only to those who are willing to conform entirely to the teachings of the Church in these matters."<sup>18</sup>

Despite its anonymous and unofficial character this *Programme*

<sup>16</sup>See Sir John Willison, *Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (Toronto, 1926), I, 100ff.

<sup>17</sup>See C. Lindsay, *Rome in Canada* (Toronto, 1877), 153; L. O. David, *Le clergé Canadien, sa mission, etc.* (Montréal, 1896); C. McC. Sait, *Clerical control in Quebec* (Toronto, 1911).

<sup>18</sup>The actual words of the article are quoted in L. O. David, *Histoire du Canada depuis la Confédération* (Montréal, 1909), 132.



*catholique* had a profound influence in the province. The united episcopate of Quebec practically gave the programme an official status in their pastoral letter of September 22, 1875, and the bishops sent further instructions to their priests to challenge the competency of the civil courts if they should be indicted for undue influence in elections.<sup>19</sup>

In 1876 the church had a chance to put its theories into practice. There were in that year by-elections at Charlevoix and Chambly. The Conservative nominee for Charlevoix, the Hon. Hector Langevin, was supported unanimously by the clergy, who not only urged their people to vote for him, but specified spiritual penalties for disobedience in the matter. In some cases a Liberal vote was declared to be a "mortal sin", the type of sin which God will never remove and which damns forever. Other priests pronounced a Liberal vote merely to be a "serious fault". The Liberal election colour, red, was said to be the red of hell-fire or the colour of the Garibaldi party, while the Conservative blue was compared to the colour of heaven and the papal flag.<sup>20</sup>

When the Hon. Rodolphe Laflamme accepted the portfolio of justice in Mackenzie's cabinet and stood for re-election in Jacques Cartier County, the clergy waged against him "une guerre à l'outrance!"<sup>21</sup> The *curé* of l'Isle Bizard reminded his flock of the imminence of death and the terrible danger of neglecting the divine commands of which he was the mouthpiece. ". . . Vous aussi," he said, "vous pouvez aussi mourir subitement, et, allez-vous préparer à reconstruire votre Dieu votre Souverain Juge en votant pour les ennemis de l'Eglise?" Some priests went further than this. A witness at the *procès en invalidation* of the Berthier election swore that his *curé* had said to him: "Si tu veux aller en enfer, tu as une belle chance. Vas voter du côté des libéraux."

The result of these activities was the overwhelming victory of the Conservatives at the polls and the subsequent attempts of the Liberals to have the elections declared void, because of the use of "undue influence". A petition to this effect was dismissed in the superior court of the District of Saguenay on the ground that ecclesiastics are as free as laymen to influence voters, and could not be considered as agents of the candidate.<sup>22</sup> The supreme court

<sup>19</sup>See Brassard *et al.* vs. Langevin, S.C. 1877, 1 Can. S.C.R., 152-62.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 150, 151.

<sup>21</sup>L'Hon. C. Langelier, *Souvenirs politiques de 1878 à 1890* (Québec, 1909), 21, 22.

<sup>22</sup>Brassard vs. Langevin, S.C. 1876, 2 I.L.R., 323. In an opinion of considerable length the judge also declared that the clergy, if they were speaking upon a matter of "faith or morals", even if it concerned elections, could not be held amenable to any civil court.

reversed this decision on appeal and pronounced the sermons and threats of spiritual penalties used to have been "an exerting of undue influence of the worst kind".<sup>23</sup> Further, the court declared that in cases of disputed elections the competent tribunal was indicated by law, an implied exclusion of all other courts.

This decision was a serious check to the political activities of the clergy, who applied to Rome and secured a brief which seemed to lend approval to their activities.<sup>24</sup> The Liberal party then appealed to Rome in its turn and Mgr Conroy, Bishop of Armagh, was sent over to conduct an investigation. This resulted in a pastoral letter, dated October 11, 1877, which Mgr Conroy ordered the Canadian bishops to circulate, and which declared all political parties equal in the sight of the church, and required that intimidation cease at once. But even this command was not, in all cases, heeded by the lower clergy, and many priests were as active as ever in the campaign of 1878.<sup>25</sup> Although in this campaign the only question of importance was that of the tariff, the Liberal candidates were still singled out for clerical attack as the protagonists of "Catholic liberalism".<sup>26</sup>

There were, however, signs of change. The new Liberals were not condemned by the entire hierarchy. They even found a champion of high ecclesiastical rank in the person of Archbishop Taschereau, who wrote to Rome in response to a *mémoire* of Mgr Laflèche:

Les jeunes gens qui en 1845 fondèrent les journaux impies que cite le *Mémoire*, formaient plutôt une association anti-religieuse qu'un parti politique. Tout naturellement ils se jetèrent dans ce qu'on appelle *opposition* dans le régime constitutionnel, et comme ils avaient

<sup>23</sup>Words of Taschereau J., Brassard *et al.* vs. Langevin, S.C. 1877, 1 Can. S.C.R., 194.

<sup>24</sup>Cf. Willison, *Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, I, 299.

<sup>25</sup>L. O. David, *Le clergé canadien, sa mission, son oeuvre* (Montréal, 1896), 45.

<sup>26</sup>This was defined by Bishop Bourget in his *Lettre pastorale* of February 1, 1876, as "a body of social and religious doctrines which tend to free more or less minds of the speculative order, and citizens of the practical order, from rules which tradition had everywhere imposed upon them. . . It is a false and dangerous sentiment, it is a party rising up and in fact conspiring against the Church and civil society. A Catholic Liberal is a man who participates in any degree whatever in this sentiment, or with this party, or in this doctrine, who is sick in proportion as he is liberal, and healthy in proportion as he is Catholic. Liberalism tends always to subordinate the rights of the Church to the rights of the State, by prudent and sagacious means, and even to separate the Church from the State, desiring to have a free Church in a free State. . ." Catholics are instructed to say in the inmost recesses of their souls: "I hear my curé; my curé hears the bishop; the bishop hears the Pope; the Pope hears our Saviour Jesus Christ, by whom he is assisted by the Divine Spirit to render him infallible in the teaching and government of his Church!"

The papal definition of Catholic liberalism is to be found in articles 77 to 80 of the *Syllabus of errors* issued by Pius IX in 1864. Although intended to apply to European conditions primarily there can be little doubt that Bishop Bourget was interpreting the *Syllabus* correctly.

de l'audace, de l'activité et du talent pour suppléer à leur petit nombre, ils réussirent à dominer dans ce parti politique jusqu'au moment où une certaine nombre de gens bien intentionnés résolurent de secouer leur joug et de donner à l'opposition une direction plus saine.

Voilà ce que le *Mémoire* appelle *évolution du parti libéral*. Voilà une douzaine d'années qu'elle a été commencée. Pendant cinq années entières le parti libéral a été au pouvoir dans le gouvernement fédéral et pendant un an et demi dans notre province.

A part le fameux discours Huntingdon, désavoué par la ministère, et quelques autres discours ou articles inspirés par le fanatisme protestant à l'occasion du *programme* dit *Catholique* en 1871, on ne voit pas que les catholiques aient eu à se plaindre de ce parti. L'Hon. M. Mackenzie qui en était le chef, a solennellement déclaré que son parti voulait respecter les droits de tous sans distinction d'origine et de religion et sa déclaration connue à Rome y a donnée satisfaction.

Le *Mémoire* en veut beaucoup à l'Hon. M. Jetté, aujourd'hui juge, de cette *évolution* qui a produit un bien immense en donnant à ce parti *politique* une direction nouvelle et en le soustrayant peu à peu à l'empire de ceux qui l'avaient fait paraître si hostile à la religion. Il était impossible d'anéantir ce parti; la seule ressource était de le convertir par une *évolution*. Comme un général habile il a dû amener peu à peu les chefs et les partisans à des sentiments meilleurs, et quoiqu'il n'ait pas converti tous les individus, il a néanmoins remporté une victoire dont il faut savoir bon gré. Le *Mémoire* lui-même, sans trop s'en apercevoir, en constate les bons effets en disant que cette *évolution* fit un grand nombre de dupes même dans les rangs du clergé, qui était resté jusque-là uni contre ce parti, à cause de son esprit anti-catholique. L'auteur du *Mémoire* se croit seul infaillible et ne manque jamais l'occasion d'accuser la bonne foi ou la prudence de quiconque ne pense pas comme lui.<sup>27</sup>

After the campaign of 1878, elections were again disallowed by the courts and the Sacred College of the Propaganda interfered to render a judgment which left no doubt as to Rome's attitude in the matter. This judgment distinguished clearly between Catholic liberalism and political parties calling themselves "Liberal". It stated that the Canadian Liberal party had never been condemned by the Holy See. There was evident danger that the Protestants not only of Quebec but of all Canada would be roused to such a pitch of indignation that there might result actual damage to the privileged position of the church, if the electioneering activities of the clergy were continued unabated.

At all events this final rebuke from Rome had the desired effect and the clergy did not take so active a part in subsequent campaigns until the Manitoba school question of 1896 once more drew

<sup>27</sup>Langelier, *Souvenirs politiques de 1878 à 1890*, 18 ff.

them into the political arena. However, to quote M. Casgrain:<sup>28</sup> "Il faudrait ne pas connaître l'esprit normand qui fait le fonds de caractère canadien, pour croire que les récriminations ont cessé depuis ces décisions."

The papal authorities were unquestionably right when they insisted upon distinguishing the Liberal party in Canada from those Liberals condemned by the church. The old iconoclastic days of the *rouges* were over. They were virtually over in 1867 when clerical influence had helped in bringing about an almost complete destruction of the party at the polls. The church had won decisively. A few die-hards remained to fulminate against the priests but those Liberals remaining in active politics assumed a very different attitude. The new Liberals did all in their power to obscure the memory of the *rouges* of 1848. Typical of the new men was Wilfrid Laurier, anxious to forget his *rouge* origin and to trace his political genealogy to Gladstone rather than to Papineau or Dorion.<sup>29</sup> The new Liberals never mentioned annexation, republicanism, or the rights of man. At long last they succeeded in convincing the clergy that there was nothing remotely anti-clerical about their platform or ideas. *Rougisme* was dead. It existed now merely as a reproach for the Conservatives to cast at the Liberals. But it was not really until about the close of the century that the clergy were finally reassured. Laurier worked indefatigably at this necessary *rapprochement* between his party and the church. He never ceased asserting his connection with the great English Liberals, and whenever he referred to the *parti rouge* spoke of it as the result of youth and high spirits, to be regarded tolerantly as a folly outgrown.

It may seriously be doubted that the *rouges* could have been successful politically even had the clergy remained entirely neutral. These young radicals were trying to gain converts among an essentially conservative people. They were primarily doctrinaires, and their original proposal of annexation was never a real political issue, even in 1849. As is so frequently the fate of minor radical groups, some of their pet reforms were adopted eventually by their opponents, while others were plainly impractical, the schemes of idealistic democratic theory.

But the active intervention of the clergy left no room for doubt at any time as to the ultimate fate of the party.

M. AYEART

<sup>28</sup>P. B. Casgrain, *Letellier de Saint-Just et son temps* (Québec, 1885).

<sup>29</sup>See Laurier's *Discours sur le libéralisme politique* (Québec, 1877).

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### LANDED ENDOWMENTS FOR RELIGIOUS PURPOSES IN NOVA SCOTIA AND THE CANADAS, 1749 AND 1837

THE letter from the secretary of the lords of trade and plantations to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, bearing date April 6, 1749, is preserved in the society's muniment room in London. Its importance is that it shows the action taken by the imperial government to extend to the then new province of Nova Scotia the policy of granting glebes to parsons of the Church of England, a policy which had been followed already in the West Indies and in the southerly continental colonies. The letter is calendared at page 136 of the *Report* of the Public Archives of Canada, 1894. A similar letter was written by Lord Sydney to the society in 1785 in regard to New Brunswick. In consequence of yet another in reference to Canada, Lord Dorchester issued the instructions set out on page 65 of the *Report* of the Ontario Department of Archives for 1928.

The second document, which consists of excerpts from the report made on the Clergy Reserves by Lord Gosford and Sir George Gipps in 1837, is taken from the *Durham papers* (section 1, vol. I, p. 485), in the Public Archives of Canada. Submitted by the Rev. J. C. Clough, B.A., Toronto, who is preparing a thesis on the Rt. Rev. George J. Mountain, third Bishop of Quebec, it shows that the Church of England, far from receiving even financial benefit from the Reserves, was seriously injured by them.

#### I

At a Special Meeting of S.P.G.

April 7<sup>th</sup> 1749

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Chair

A Letter from M<sup>r</sup> John Pownall Solicitor and Clerk of the Reports by order of the Lords Commissioners for Trade, and Plantations, dated the 6<sup>th</sup> ins<sup>t</sup> was laid before the Board, and is as follows

Whitehall April 6<sup>th</sup> 1749

Sir

His Majesty having given directions that a Number of Persons should be sent to the Province of Nova Scotia in North America, I am directed

by my Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations to desire you will acquaint the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, that it is proposed to settle the said Persons in six Townships, and that a particular spot will be set apart in each of them for Building a Church, and 400 Acres of Land adjacent thereto, granted in Perpetuity, Free from the Payment of any Quit Rent, to a Minister and his Successors, and 200 in like manner to a School Master. Their Lordships therefore recommend to the Society to name a Minister and a School Master for each of the said Townships, hoping that they will give such Encouragement to them, as the Society shall think proper untill their lands can be so far cultivated as to afford a sufficient Support.

I am further to acquaint you, that each Clergyman who shall be sent with the Persons who are to form this first Settlement will have a grant of 200 acres of Land and each Schoolmaster 100 acres in Propriety to them and their Heirs as also 30 Acres over and above their said respective Quotas for every person of which their families shall consist, that they will likewise be subsisted during their Passage, and for 12 Months after their arrival, and Furnished with Arms, Ammunition, and Materials for Husbandry, Building their Houses &c in like manner as the other settlers.

Their Lordships think proper that the Society should be informed that (except the Garrison of Annapolis) all the inhabitants of the said Province, Amounting to 20,000 are French Roman Catholicks, and that there are a great Number of Priests resident among them who act under the Directions of the French Bishop of Quebec.

At the same time their Lordships would recommend it to the consideration of the Society whether it may be not adviseable to chose [*sic*] some amongst others, of the Ministers and Schoolmasters to be sent, who by speaking the French Language may be particularly useful in cultivating a sense of the true Protestant Religion among the said Inhabitants, and educating their Children in the Principles thereof.

I am

Sir

Your most Obed<sup>t</sup> Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

(Signed) JOHN POWNALL Soll<sup>r</sup> &

Clk of the Reports

## II

Quebec 31st January, 1837

My Lord,

Although our time here is drawing to a close, we are anxious not to omit expressing our opinions, even if it be in a somewhat summary

manner, on the important subject of the Clergy Reserves. We annex various representations, written or oral, which were addressed to us on the subject by members of the Church of England and of the Church of Scotland, especially by the Clergy Corporation, and the Presbytery of Quebec; and a numerously signed petition presented to us during our stay at Montreal by several of the most respectable inhabitants of that city, containing in one part a forcible statement of their views on the present topic. With the object of ascertaining the extent and value of the property under consideration. We also called for certain statements from the commissioner of Crown Lands, and the Secretary to the Clergy Corporation which will be found joined to the other documents in the appendix.

The principal questions that have been raised seem to be, whether the Revenues ought to be available to the Church of England alone, or to the churches of England & Scotland, or to all religious sects; and in the last case, whether the application of the property should be to the support of Ministers of religion, or to purposes of education. We shall not enter upon the points of Law involved in these questions, because they can be better judged of in England than by us. But we propose to report to Your Lordship what from our observation and enquiries on the spot appears to us the best course in itself for the interests of the different parties concerned, and for the general welfare of this country. And we think that the consideration of the subject will be facilitated by examining in the first place, what has been hitherto the value of these reserves to the Church of England which for a certain period was their sole claimant.

Great as the estates are in point of extent, they have yielded no useful profit to the Church. Your Lordship is aware that until they could be sold under the authority given by the Imperial Act 7 and 8 Geo. IV, c. 62, the only mode in which a profit could be derived from the Reserves was by letting them upon Lease. It will be seen by the statements in the appendix that from the time of their creation until now, a period of 45 years, the whole amount of the surplus revenue realized has been £137 7/2½. The average annual revenue has been £67 10/4½ and the average expence of management £64 8/3¼ making a net revenue of about £3 and for the last 10 years and a half the expences of management have exceeded the revenue. Such being the profit, we will only add that the quantity of acres at this moment under lease is no less than 14,736 acres. The quantity that has been sold is 289,389 acres at a price nominally of £68,436, but as the payments have hitherto been allowed to be made in four yearly instalments and in some cases a redeemable quit rent accepted instead of the purchase money, the sum that has been



realized and sent to England for investment does not exceed £31,137 Currency. Only the interest of this sum is applicable to the purposes of the Church, & none has yet been made use of.

We do not see any prospect of materially enlarging the profits of the Church, as we have given this description. With respect to the leases we can not only appeal to the signal experience we have just described of nearly a century, but we are satisfied, on general grounds, that in new countries such as Canada, no steady revenue, and still less one susceptible of augmentation, is to be collected from such a source. However natural it may be that some of the Clergy more conversant probably with the management of Church property in older countries, should have exhibited hopes of a future improvement by raising rents as the value of the property increased, we are convinced that such views are not formed with a due advertance to the nature of large colonies, where there is an almost inexhaustible supply of unoccupied land.

The remaining resource is the sales. As no more than the interest of their proceeds is available, Your Lordship will perceive how slow must be the progress made by their means towards an income of any important value. We may take the present opportunity of observing that we heard complaints from some of the clergy of the manner in which the sales of Reserves were carried on by the Crown Commissioner, but on looking into them, we found them to be of the same nature as the complaints which were before the Secretary of State in 1835, and we agree with the opinion then expressed in Lord Aberdeen's Despatch of the 3rd of January, that there was no sufficient reason for the remonstrances that were offered. The sales of Clergy Reserves are conducted upon the same principles as the sales of Crown Lands, and while we sincerely conceive that this is the best mode for the immediate interest of those concerned in the property, we are of opinion, that at any rate a less free and open manner of disposing of them would prolong the evils which render the Clergy Reserves most obnoxious and would counteract the object and spirit of the Imperial Act authorizing the sales to be made.

6. In order to complete our view of this part of the subject, it may perhaps be expected that we should endeavour to estimate the general value of the Clergy Reserves. It is difficult however to settle the principle on which any such estimate can be made. The whole of the Reserves, including those under Lease, and adding a tract of about 79,700 acres which will soon have to be set apart as the Clergy's proportion of the unsurveyed block sold to the Land Company, amount to 628,024 acres. If these could be disposed of immediately at the same average price of 4<sup>s</sup> as the Reserves heretofore sold subject to a deduction of 10 per cent for the expences of sale, they would represent an amount

of £134,240 currency, or at the ordinary rate of Exchange £120,716 Sterling. This however cannot be taken as a correct estimate of their present value. It could not be expected that the price obtained for the whole of the Reserves, if sold together and at once, would be the same at which they have been selling gradually, and in detached portions, according to the demand for them, and it would evidently be impossible to dispose of so vast a quantity of Land except to the existing Land Company, or to another one created for the express purpose, neither of which measures we can recommend.

7. It has been suggested that the Crown should resume the Clergy Reserves, granting at the same time an annuity to the Clergy chargeable upon the Crown Revenues, and liable to be increased according to the wants of the Church. But there appears something unreasonable in proposing that because a certain property has been proved incapable of producing profit, the Crown should take it over at the price of providing in its stead a regular annual money payment, subject to be augmented indefinitely according to the wants of the former claimants of the estate.

8. Lord Ripon's proposal in November 1831 was simply that the Crown should resume the reserves, without any such obligation as is involved in the preceding plan. Whether or not it may have been contemplated, without any pledge on the subject, to make some gratuitous allowance to the Clergy out of the Proceeds of Crown Lands enlarged by that extensive addition, we cannot say. It is certain however that coupled with the surrender of the Crown Revenues to the appropriation of the Legislature which was always looked to by Lord Ripon, and which we continue to think desirable at any reasonably favourable opportunity the result would have been to give the crown no choice of making any allowance to the Clergy, but the Reserves would have been taken away merely as an unprofitable and injurious species of provision, which it was no longer wise to maintain.

9. We think the preceding statements shew how unproductive the Reserves have been to the Church as a matter of pecuniary profit, and how little prospect there is of rendering them more useful in that respect. In every other respect they have been far more hurtful to the Church than beneficial. Without dwelling on the various causes of jealousy which are involved in a claim to the exclusive possession of a property of this nature, we shall satisfy ourselves with citing one example of their effects. We believe that in all other parts of the world there is a friendly feeling between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland; and it might have been supposed that in Lower Canada, where there is a richly endowed and powerful Roman Catholic Church, followed by a large majority of the Inhabitants of the country, the bonds of union

between those two venerable Protestant Institutions would have been drawn nearer together.

Instead of that, it is well known what heartburnings prevail between the two in this Province, and not even the utter unproductiveness of the property could at all allay the animosity which we had the pain to perceive in many of the appeals of the Members of the Scotch Church to us upon this point. They demanded, they said to participate in the advantages the English Clergy derived from the reserves; it was in vain that we pointed out to them that their claim to such a participation had been admitted by some of the highest authorities in England; and that in as much as the English Clergy had as yet derived no advantage from the Reserves, there had been none for themselves to share. The bitterness of the feeling of Exclusion has survived, not unnaturally, the occasion for it, and we found individuals who could not by any proof be dispossessed of the idea that the English Clergy had reaped alone some great benefit from the reserves. Yet one payment of £55 for clerical duties performed at Laprairie appears to have constituted the real extent of that benefit from the year 1791 until the present time. In fact it could not be much larger since the whole surplus of Revenue from Leases has been shewn to be no greater than £137, while all the produce of sales has been remitted to England by express enactment of Parliament to be invested in the Public Funds.

10. We are friendly to the desire of the Scotch Church to participate in the Reserves, for we should be glad to see as little exclusiveness as possible in their appropriation, on the legal claim of the Kirk, we do not think that any opinion of ours is called for. After the report made in favour of the claim by the Law Officers of the Crown in 1819, and the adoption of the same view in the subsequent dispatches of the secretary of State which are cited in the Memorial of the Presbytery of Quebec appended to our present communication, the point would almost seem to be considered settled in England. On the other hand it is our duty not to omit calling attention to the objections to the law officers opinion contained in the Memorial of the Clergy Corporation to us and in the Rev. Mr. Bethune's letter dated 10th Sept. 1836; and having thus brought to notice such representations on the legal question, as have been addressed to ourselves, we would leave the consideration of them to H. M. Government.

11. Another point which it is perhaps right that we should mention, although we are unable to express any opinion favourable to the wish of the parties, is the request referred by the Presbytery of Quebec for the establishment by Law of the authority of their ecclesiastical Courts in this province, & the creation of an appeal to the general assembly.

Your Lordship will find the representations on this subject in a Memorial of the Presbytery of Quebec dated 10th August 1836 and in an explanatory letter from Mr. Thomas Blackwood, dated 26th August we confess we do not think a sufficient case is made out for entering in this province upon a question of such magnitude, and one which could not be settled in one colony without extending the principle to all. It is in fact not so much a topic for enquiry in Lower Canada as a general proposition concerning the rights of the Church of Scotland throughout the British Dominions, a subject which, if it be desirable that it should be agitated, at any rate cannot be discussed with the necessary information and powers except at home.

12. While we are friendly as we have already said to the demand of the Scotch Church to participate in the Clergy Reserves, we must not lead Your Lordship to suppose that we think this measure would in itself remedy the disadvantages we have had to point out in the nature of the property. On the contrary the proceeds would be still more inadequate than now to the objects with which they would be charged, and the present discontents and differences would not be put an end to, because the other Protestant denominations think themselves as well entitled to a share in the Reserves, as either the Church of England or of Scotland.

13. The only effectual cure we can recommend for the evils of the case, as it now stands, is to adopt some mode of making the Reserves available to all Religious Sects. We should see no objection in principle to dedicating them to the payment of Ministers of all Sects; the direct ills that flow from an exclusive appropriation would be met by that course, and should the Legislature of the country shew a decided preference for it, we are not prepared to say that there would be sufficient reason why Government should refuse its concurrence. But there is no doubt that the limited revenues derivable from the property, if divided to the extent implied by this measure, could confer benefit on no one; while there would be many difficulties in defining religious sects and teachers, and in allotting the proportions to be given to each; so that eventually there might be as many jealousies in this manner, though from a new cause, as there are at present. Our opinion therefore would be in favour of applying the proceeds of the Clergy Reserves to purposes of general education. In the support of sound and beneficial establishments for instruction a moderate amount of funds might possibly be concentrated enough to be of some practical use, while yet the advantage would be open to all.

14. We have now said enough to shew the grounds of the conclusions, which we beg leave to recapitulate as follows.

That in a pecuniary point of view the Clergy Reserves have never

been really useful to the Church of England and that they are not likely to become so.

That in all other points of view they have been much more hurtful than beneficial.

That the mere association of the Church of Scotland to that of England would not remedy these disadvantages, for that it would make the proceeds of the Reserves still more disproportioned than now to their nominal objects, while it would bring the evil of their invidiousness upon two churches instead of one.

That the effective cure for the ills flowing from their exclusiveness would be to render the Reserves applicable to the use of all religious sects; but that to charge them with payment of the Ministers of all would completely destroy the chance of any practical benefit from the funds, while it would be attended with many difficulties and some risks of renewed jealousies, and that therefore the best course is to devote the property to purposes of general education.

15. The conclusions we have thus expressed lead us naturally to say a few words on the Provision for the higher branches of Instruction, which topic we were obliged to omit from our last report on Education.

16. We enclose the copy of a return, which has been lately compiled in the public departments of the several colleges and seminaries in this province. We also append a statement of the endowments in Land held by religious bodies of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and we would request Your Lordships attention to a petition we received praying aid in Land or money to the college founded at Montreal by the late Mr. McGill, but not yet called into active operation.

17. From the first of the returns above mentioned, it will be seen that there are seven collegiate institutions in Lower Canada, of which McGill College is the only one that has had a lay origin, and the remaining six have been founded by, and are under the management of the Roman Catholic Clergy. We hope your Lordship will not suppose that we mention this circumstance invidiously. You are already aware of the high respect we entertain for the Roman Catholic Clergy in this country, and we do not admit a doubt that in the present important matter they conduct themselves with the same virtues which distinguish their general character. But it is unavoidable that the institutions under their management should offer advantages chiefly to persons speaking the French Tongue, and professing the Roman Catholic Religion; and the consequence is, as is truly intimated by the petition on the subject, that the sons of parents who may wish them to cultivate the higher branches of science and literature through the medium of the English Language have to be sent either to the neighbouring Provinces or to England, or

not unfrequently to the United States. We cannot hesitate to acknowledge that this is a state of circumstances which calls for a remedy, and the most obvious resource for the purpose would appear the promotion of the establishment of which the foundation has already been laid by the munificent bequest of the late Mr. McGill. We beg therefore to offer our opinion that should the Clergy Reserves be dedicated to objects of general education, it would be desirable that a liberal allotment should be made to this institution, provided of course that nothing were done in any way to discourage the resort to it of students of all religious persuasions whatever. The endowment might consist, as should be preferred, either of some of the Lands themselves which are reserved, or of a certain amount of their proceeds, to be added to the other funds held in trust for the college. The last mode would perhaps be the best, as it would probably be found expedient to continue the sales of all the reserves as is now done, with the difference only of investing the produce as an Education fund, instead of for the present uses.

18. After the success of the institution at Montreal had been tried, there would be better ground to judge how far it might be desirable to encourage the establishment of similar places of education at Quebec and elsewhere.

19. It is perhaps premature as yet to speak of the establishment of a University. There may be doubts how far the Province is ripe to maintain such an institution on an extensive scale. And most assuredly it could not be set on foot successfully without the cordial co-operation & support of the Legislature. Should however a time happily arrive when there would appear a prospect of founding such an institution with real efficacy, settling it on the most comprehensive basis, and so that not merely it should be open to all classes but should truly hold out equal inducements to all to resort to it without distinction or preference, we think it would be a work in which all might be proud to participate. Supposing the Capital were the site chosen for the establishment, we should deem it well worthy of consideration whether the most appropriate contribution from the Executive, or in other words from the Imperial Government, would not be the gift of the Ancient House of the Jesuits at Quebec for the University-building.

GOSFORD  
GEO. GIPPS

Fourteen enclosures include, among other items, memorials from the Clergy Reserve Corporation and the Presbytery of Quebec, letters and evidence of the Rev. J. Bethune, Dr. Strachan, and others, return of properties held by Roman Catholic bodies, petition on McGill College, and statements of the crown commissioner and the secretary to the Clergy Corporation.

## REVIEW ARTICLE

### RECENT BOOKS ON THE EMPIRE AND FOREIGN POLICY<sup>1</sup>

THE background of this sextet of volumes is what might be called the Anglo-Saxon empire, this being the extension of the British Empire and Commonwealth into close association and co-operation with the United States. Against this background the large number of writers who have contributed to the volumes discuss to the point of exhaustion the undying and hydra-headed subjects of trade and industry, war and peace. The importance of the United States to the Commonwealth and its individual members is everywhere recognized. Dr. Shotwell puts forward the view "that the United States is fundamentally at one with Great Britain and the Dominions in its attitude toward world organization" (p. 115). Professor Mackintosh notes once more "the profound influence on Canadian development and thought, of the nearness of Canada to the United States". A member of the delegation from the United Kingdom to the Toronto Conference argues that "co-operation with the United States in general matters of world policy" is "essential to the peaceful and satisfactory continuance of Commonwealth relations", not only for the well-being of the parties concerned, "but also because the fundamental ideas of Americans and ourselves are really similar and often identical" (p. 171). The report of the Toronto Conference's commission on the collective system concludes, amongst other things, that we should "recognize that co-operation with the

<sup>1</sup>*Imperial Economy and its Place in the Formation of Economic Doctrine, 1600-1932.* By C. R. FAY. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1934. Pp. 151. (\$1.75).

*Canadian Papers, 1933.* Prepared for the Fifth Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations to be held in Banff, Canada, August 14 to 28, 1933. Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 43 St. George Street. 1933. Pp. 99. (75 cents).

*British Commonwealth Relations: Proceedings of the First Unofficial Conference at Toronto, 11-21 September 1933.* Edited by ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. With a foreword by the Rt. Hon. Sir. ROBERT L. BORDEN. London: Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. xiv, 235. (\$3.25).

*Consultation and Co-operation in the British Commonwealth: A Handbook on the Methods and Practice of Communication and Consultation between the Members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.* Compiled by GERALD E. H. PALMER. With an introduction by Professor A. BERRIEDALE KEITH on the constitutional development of the British Empire in regard to the dominions and India from 1887 to 1933. Issued under the joint auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs on behalf of the First Unofficial Conference on British Commonwealth Relations. Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. lix, 264. (12s. 6d.).

*The Heritage of Freedom: The United States and Canada in the Community of Nations.* By JAMES T. SHOTWELL. (Pearson Kirkman Marfleet Lectures at the University of Toronto.) New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Toronto: 1934. The University of Toronto Press. Pp. xii, 136. (\$1.50 post paid).

*A Record of a Second Study Conference on the State and Economic Life held in London from May 29 to June 2, 1933 and organized by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in collaboration with the British Co-ordinating Committee for International Studies.* (League of Nations Sixth International Studies Conference.) Paris, 2 rue de Montpensier, Palais Royal: International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. 1934. Pp. xviii, 422.



United States is a vital feature of Commonwealth foreign policy" (p.12). There is a stimulating interplay of theses running all through these eight hundred pages of miscellaneous facts and ideas, which is itself an historical phenomenon of great importance, and in a sense the very homogeneity of outlook, "which includes wide divergences of opinion", is a sort of proof of the solidarity of the civilization with which the writers are dealing.

*Imperial economy*, a series of Beit lectures by Professor Fay, is a thoroughly delightful addition to the comparatively small number of studies yet made on the economic history of the British Empire; it is crisp in style, conversational in manner, witty, full of pith, and apt to be quoted.

The first lecture "America in the Old Empire" is really a study of Adam Smith as an economic force—not merely an economist. He vigorously assaulted the mercantile system and set up in its place the doctrine of free trade, but he did so because "he is a realist" (p.18), and derived his theory of foreign trade, which is "internal trade internationalized", from the England of his day with her growing development "of production in field, mine and factory". He was able to fit America into this free-trade world because in that country "labour is relatively scarce to hand, cultivation is extensive and slovenly, wages are high, growth has a free hand" (p.20). To-day, however, this world in which Great Britain can escape from her difficulties is gone, and the new world "sharing our plight protects itself against an excess of men, as we protect ourselves against its excess of produce". Hence the appeal of Bolshevism, says Mr. Fay, and "hence elsewhere the chorus of rationalization, which is Bolshevism without the bullets. Unable any longer to escape from ourselves, as a last expedient we plan. This way has come the end of laissez-faire."

The first lecture is a miniature of the whole. By the landmarks of "The West Indies and South America", "The empire by commodities",—furs, fish, wheat, tobacco, wool, gold, and "India under monopoly and free trade", Mr. Fay comes at last to Ottawa and 1932; and, just as in his first lecture he comes at last to Bolshevism and rationalization as simply the evolutionary stages of economic growth, so he comes to the imperial plan of to-day as simply the natural present phase of Great Britain's trade history.

Brief as they are, the sections on the commodities have packed in them a wealth of material, any part of which can be usefully extracted for analysis. Imperial history gains reality when its material, as well as moral, forces are examined. "The British Empire is the result of overseas trade" (p.26). "In the 18th century Great Britain exploited these claims for the profit of her manufacturers" (p.8).

*Canadian papers* is a severely factual compilation prepared for the Fifth Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Banff in August, 1933. The most interesting, perhaps, is Professor Mackintosh's opening paper on Canadian tariff policy, which examines its basic factors, and reviews its history from 1846 to the present. Canada, he observes, is now not only "a country of relatively high tariffs" but is also one of "unstable tariffs" which have of course "grown out of the unstable

conditions of world trade", and which offer a greater barrier to trade than would high but stable rates. Professor Taylor's analysis of the effects of the Ottawa Conference on trade in certain Pacific countries is supplemented by tables of imports, which will be useful in interpreting the results of the conference. Mr. J. M. MacDonald supplies other statistical material on Canada's trans-Pacific trade, while Messrs. Steven Cartwright and D. W. Buchanan contribute papers on "The participation of the state in the wheat industry of Canada", and "Planned beet sugar production in Alberta". Mr. Buchanan remarks that the possibility of selling the maximum output of the factory "depends on the marketing *organization* of the sugar company" (p.99), and sounds dryly enthusiastic about the industry which is "well established now"; but one would have liked to hear more about the claims of cane sugar, the influence of which—because the owners of the beet company are also in the sugar-cane business—sounds rather disconcerting.

The other two volumes are complementary in the sense that Mr. Palmer's compilation is an excellent and valuable text-book of information about the constitutional machinery of the British Commonwealth, and Professor Toynbee's an equally excellent and valuable report on a prolonged discussion of the object of that machinery. Professor Keith's introductory survey of "The constitutional development of the British Empire in regard to the dominions and India from 1887 to 1933" is done in his usual masterly manner, all the more remarkable when one reads his definition of the commonwealth as "a loose federation, whose members are mainly bound by ill-defined and elastic conventional understandings based on a common allegiance" (p. xiv). It is a remarkable feat to be as lucid and categorical as Professor Keith is—particularly in his *obiter dicta* about such an inchoate constitutional creation.

Mr. Palmer's summary sets out in neat array the machinery of co-operation: governors-general; permanent machinery of co-operation in the United Kingdom, the dominions, Newfoundland, Southern Rhodesia, and India; diplomatic representation; representation at Geneva; defence policies and co-operation; the practice and procedure for representation at international conferences; the negotiation and ratification of treaties. Three appendices deal with the appointments of governors-general, the status of high commissioners, and a list of treaties involving military commitments binding on individual members of the commonwealth. A useful selected bibliography might have made room profitably for periodicals like the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW with its invaluable source lists and index, the *Canadian bar review*, and similar publications in the other dominions. The *Milner papers*, Sweetman's *Constitutional development of Australia*, Sir Robert Falconer's and Dr. Munro's lectures on Canadian-American relations, are also missing. But selected bibliographies are like anthologies, and satisfy few at a time.

This panorama of imperial variety in constitutional growth, objective as it is, confirms Professor Keith's definition of the commonwealth very adequately. There is unity, and there is disunity, and undoubtedly there is competition between them. The Locarno Pact, as Professor Keith points out, as signed and negotiated by Britain only, indicates the "limited application of the doctrine of unity": Ireland refused to accept

the reservations made by the other parts of the commonwealth in reference to the optional clause. On the other hand, Professor Keith observes (p. xxxi) "though control is not unified, it was definitely decided at the Washington Conference in 1921 that the whole of the forces of the Commonwealth must be regarded as a unit for purposes of allocation of naval strength". Even in the matter of policy and organization there is more than a hint of real imperial unity in vital matters of war and defence in the Overseas Defence Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

When we turn to *British Commonwealth relations* we come upon a new aspect of commonwealth development. Here, as Professor Toynbee says, is a grand debate between the two rival political philosophies of parochialism and oecumenicalism (p. 8), and strictly intra-imperial relationship widens out to include co-operation with the rest of the world.

The purpose of the Toronto Conference was "to provide an opportunity for the scientific examination and frank discussion of the problem of co-operation between the members of the Commonwealth" (p. 5). The frankness was there and the examination was at least very thorough. The interesting development, however, was not so much the elaboration of a new or enlarged framework of co-operation—though that is fully summarized by Professor Eric Walker of South Africa and Mr. P. J. Noel Baker and Sir Donald Somervell of Great Britain—but the very definite establishment of what is in effect a new foreign policy for the British Commonwealth. For, as Professor Toynbee says, "While there was a marked divergence of view on the question whether the parochial unit was to be the individual member of the Commonwealth or the Commonwealth as a whole, there was an equally striking consensus in the view that the welfare of the members of the Commonwealth severally and collectively was bound up with the maintenance of an effective collective system of international relations" (p. 8).

This is the theme of the book, and the great interest of the rest of its pages lies in the commentary that they offer on it. Canadian readers will be particularly interested in the cross-section of Canadian opinion: the quotations from "a group in Halifax", "a study group from one of the great commercial cities of Eastern Canada", the usually very outspoken "contributions from the prairie Provinces", and so on. All students will appreciate the value of the larger cross-section of commonwealth opinion provided in connection with the reports from South Africa, Australia, and elsewhere. These documents are historical material of great value, for they have the candour of anonymity and the responsibility of serious thought.

The voluminousness and untrammelled freedom of the various submissions must have made Professor Toynbee's task difficult enough; the result is also perhaps slightly inconclusive. The advanced thinking about imperial relations within the commonwealth and with the rest of the world is more vocal and carefully worked out than the older-fashioned type of thought: the advanced view has pride of place in this volume. The chief deficiency of the book, therefore, as a record of contemporary ideas, is that it has not enough analysis and exposition of the views of those who believe in British supremacy and superiority, imperial solidar-

ity *contra mundum*, and the maintenance of peace, temporary at least, by the further development of these. This is not, so far as can be seen, because the editor has neglected it when it appeared, but simply because there was not very much of it to be had.

Some of those who were closest to the conference seem to think now that so much has happened in the last year that this report has lost some of its pertinence. This view is not supported by the pages themselves. For confirmation, one need only look at the discussion of the possible methods of co-operation for purposes of peace between the members of the commonwealth, by the training of diplomats (p. 73), the setting up of parliamentary committees, the extension of the Department of External Affairs, representation at Geneva, and so on. The commonwealth, either in its individual parts or as a unit, is only on the threshold of its co-operation with the world, and in preparation for that rigorous future, most of the material put together in such lucid form will be of immense value for a long time to come.

Dr. Shotwell's Pearson Kirkman Marfleet lectures are studies in the problem of American co-operation with the rest of the world for the maintenance of peace, and they have, therefore, a peculiar value for Canadian readers. Dr. Shotwell himself took part in some of the many preparations leading to the covenant of the league, and since then has not lost touch with the developments that have grown out of that document.

Lecture I surveys the rise of American interest in world affairs before the war. Lecture II, "A Monroe doctrine for the world", elucidates the American view of the international discussion of the questions of peace and war. Why, he asks, should the United States hold back from joining in the league? His answer here and in his third lecture, "The challenge of an unsolved problem", may be unsatisfactory to some, and prophetic to others, because he ends on a definitely idealistic note. But Dr. Shotwell's own record, as well as the bulk of these pages, show that he is a very practised and practical politician, and what he says is worth listening to.

*The state and economic life* is a thickly packed octavo presenting addresses and reports on imperial preference, the open-door policy, the most-favoured-nation clause, and problems of state intervention in economic life, by an imposing corps of economists and political thinkers, including Dr. Jacob Viner, Sir Arthur Salter, Dr. A. E. Zimmern, Dr. von Beckerath, Professor C. Bouglé, and others. Excerpts from "preliminary memoranda" from twelve countries support the argument of the economic symposium. The discussions constitute an economic commentary on Professor Toynbee's report in a number of ways. There are, for example, Sir Arthur Salter's remarks on regional economic agreements (p. 52), and his frank recognition of the new phase in British economic history represented by the abandonment of free trade. Together these paragraphs are expatiations on Professor Fay's epigrammatic jottings on the processes of economic imperialism.

In the same way Professor H. A. Innis's contribution, "Certain forms of state intervention" is a brilliant piece of condensed economic history, which in its implications will ultimately play havoc with many prevailing

impressions. Thought will be provoked by such observations as, "We are not following in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, but rather in the direction of countries such as Germany and Italy", *i.e.*, in respect of economic tendencies, of course; and "We are forced to be critical of the Anglo-Saxon point of view, partly because we are being forced to pay for some of the idiosyncrasies of Free Trade and Liberalism" (p. 254).

The volume contains a great quantity of similarly suggestive material. There are also at least one notable omission and a certain amount of unscientific embroidery. It is ironical, for example, to have an international symposium on the state and economic life, with Russia unrepresented—it is reminiscent of an undergraduate "pow-wow" on religion and philosophy; one is told, too, of the valuable service Fascism has performed "in opposing these false ideas" (p. 377), *i.e.*, ideas which are not Fascist,—and how under "an energetic and intelligent Government" in charge of the Nationalist Socialist programme "the common interest has taken precedence over private interests" and "will be able to avoid State control through the police" (p. 374). But such is internationalism in the making, and from the economic point of view the bulk of the matter in this book deals frankly with frank facts, and is highly to be recommended on that score alone.

T. W. L. MACDERMOT

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*The Settlement of the Peace River Country: A Study of a Pioneer Area.*  
By C. A. DAWSON, assisted by R. W. MURCHIE. (Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, edited by W. A. MACKINTOSH and W. L. G. JOERG, VI.) Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. xii, 284. (\$4.00)

THIS is the second volume to appear of the nine volumes on Canadian Frontiers of Settlement which are in course of preparation under the auspices of the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee. It will confirm the excellent opinion of the project created by Professor Mackintosh's fine study on *Prairie settlement, The geographical setting*, published some months ago. When the series is complete there will be no excuse for Canadians failing to understand what is involved in conquering new territory and bringing it under conditions of settled habitation.

As Professor Mackintosh, one of the editors of the series, points out in a foreword, the Peace River country furnishes an ideal "case" for study. Somewhat remote from the rest of the Prairie Provinces, not too large to be adequately studied, with a regional life of its own, the Peace River country has not only its fringe but also its more mature centres.

The author and his assistant have brought to their task technical methods of investigation which result in a vivid picture of the region without sacrificing scientific accuracy to impressionism. The physical basis, the stages of settlement, the pattern of agricultural development, the differences between the successive zones of settlement, methods of living as exemplified by farm-family expenditure, social and economic organization and institutions are all examined with minute care. Adequate maps are provided, the text is brightened by many small but well-chosen illustrations, and there are eighty-four statistical tables.

In such a complete study there seems to be one serious omission—the absence of data relating to crime and the administration of justice. Lawlessness and lack of security are often associated in the public mind with frontier communities. It would have been valuable, I think, to have set forth the facts for the Peace River country in this respect and to have compared them not only with data from Alberta but also from the older parts of Canada.

To comment on the many points of interest developed in the study is quite beyond the scope of this review but two or three may be mentioned. First, with regard to the economic returns that come to the pioneers in a new country. For 311 farmers from whom complete data are obtained, the average initial capital was \$2,692.00. The average net worth of these 311 farmers at the time of the survey was \$11,614.00. "That means that the net savings of the Peace River sample farmers in their ten years of average occupancy amounted to \$8,922.00, a part of which as mentioned before was unearned increment in land value." Another question on which this survey throws light is the degree of farm indebtedness: 323 farms recorded this information. The average debt per farm was \$1,377.00. Of this amount, \$779.00 was borrowed on mortgage,

\$344.00 was owed to the banks, \$162.00 to implement companies, \$26.00 to merchants, and \$13.00 to lumber companies. The average amount of debt for all farms was estimated at 11.6 per cent. of the total assets. These figures would suggest that the farmers of the Peace River district are not in unduly straitened circumstances but it must be remembered that the farms studied were probably somewhat better than the average and that their excellent showing was purchased in part at the expense of a standard of living estimated on the whole to be lower than that in other parts of the country.

It is often argued that only persons with some agricultural training should be permitted to settle on land for colonization. In the case of 332 Peace River farm operators studied, the previous occupations were: of 118, semi-skilled artisans; of 115, clerks, office-workers, personal and civil service. Only 16 of the group had previously pursued semi-agricultural occupations.

I have already referred to the fact that part of the progress of the Peace River pioneers has been purchased at the expense of a lower standard of living. In addition to this, these settlers have had to put up with many inconveniences due to isolation from social centres. In the case of a total sample of 313 households in the Peace River district, the average distance from a grade school was 4.5 miles; from a church, 6.9 miles; from a doctor, 12.9 miles; from a hospital, 24.3 miles; and from a shipping point, 25.9 miles.

Pointing out that there is much more land to be settled in the Peace River country, the authors suggest that the withholding of land from settlement until the time is opportune, the planning of transportation facilities, the assembling of correct information to guide the settler, together with ready co-operation with other bodies interested in the development of new areas, would appear to be among the major responsibilities of the provincial government. "It goes without saying that Government authorities are expected to protect the settler from the exploitation of special interests who would promote land settlement for private gain and without thought of public good."

D. A. MACGIBBON

*L'enseignement français au Canada.* Par l'Abbé LIONEL GROULX.  
Volume II: *Les écoles des minorités.* Montréal: Librairie Granger frères. 1933. Pp. 271. (\$1.50)

THIS is volume II of the series of which volume I was reviewed in our number for March, 1933. In five chapters it deals with the history of the schools of the French-speaking and Catholic minorities in Acadia, Manitoba, Keewatin, the North-west, and Ontario, and in the sixth discusses very frankly the question of French nationalism. With other minorities or languages the author does not deal, for with him French and Catholic are synonymous, and he does not spare even the English-speaking bishops of his faith when they show lack of sympathy for the claims of the French tongue. In his concluding chapter he urges on the French the policy of taking the offensive; only by fortifying their own tradition will they gain understanding and cordial treatment from their English fellow citizens; they must show "toutes les forces, toutes les



resources de son catholicisme". In the name of humanism and of culture the abbé therefore demands for the English and French languages in Canada absolute equality in everything, including even postage stamps.

As always, the author writes with solid research and in admirable French, and these qualities make his book valuable and interesting. But even the sympathetic outsider feels that he protests rather too much. We grow tired of rhetoric about the splendid heroism and the fidelity to truth of the one side, and the brutal obstinacy and aggression of the other. Even Riel is "le jeune heros Manitobain".

However, in spite of rather too copious a dose of rhetoric the ideals of the two sides are fairly stated, and all facts are backed by reference to the original authorities. One omission, however, must be pointed out. The abbé leaves practically unmentioned the most usual grievance against the French schools. Granted that there was narrowness and lack of sympathy in plenty, and that it was not confined to the Orangemen, the normal objection of the ordinary Protestant to the French schools was much less based on theory than on a practical feeling that they were inefficient in teaching the secular subjects. The author shows at some length, from the testimony of Dr. J. L. Hughes and other Protestants, that the French-speaking schools of Ontario, which suffered under the famous Regulation 17, were efficient in teaching these, including the English language. But for all other schools, the one mention of this charge is that on page 90 he quotes a vague word or two of praise given to the teaching in the minority schools in Manitoba by Sir Charles Tupper, speaking as Canadian high commissioner at the colonial exhibition in London in 1885, and from the *Canadian gazette* of the same date. This is somewhat slender disproof of a charge which was widely made, and when one reads in his pages of the emphasis put in the schools of the minority on the teaching of the catechism and of Catholic doctrine, one cannot help feeling that many of them must have been more noted for their orthodoxy than for their secular efficiency. The abbé may, of course, reply that of the two sides, that of religion is the more important; but he is far too enlightened a scholar not to realize that the secular subjects cannot be neglected, and one hopes that either in another volume or in a special brochure he will discuss this criticism at greater length.

W. L. GRANT

*The Franciscan Père Marquette: A Critical Biography of Father Zénobe Membré.* By MARION HABIG. (Franciscan studies, no. 13, June, 1934.) New York: Joseph F. Wagner. 1934. Pp. xiii, 301.

MANY men with different talents, having various experiences, were necessary to the opening of the interior of the continent of North America in the seventeenth century. While none of them attained the eminence of Livingstone and Stanley two centuries later in Africa, yet a halo hangs over the names of Jolliet, La Salle, Duluth, and Iberville, French pathfinders in the Mississippi valley. Among these the missionaries deserve their place, and the names of Marquette, Allouez, Hennepin spring involuntarily to the mind. Others like merry Father André, who led his band of singing Indian children with the music of his flute; and Father Anastase Douay, who was with La Salle in his last fatal journey,

have become abstractions without personality or place. Among these latter, perhaps, has been Father Zénobe Membré, faithful Franciscan of whom we have known little. It has been the pleasant duty of Father Habig to rescue Membré's name from the oblivion into which it had nearly dropped.

In calling him the "Franciscan Père Marquette", the author has merely attempted to use a famous name to awaken fame for his subject, for two missionaries more unlike than Marquette and Membré can hardly be imagined—unlike except for the motives and ruling purposes that governed their lives. Marquette was slight in frame, always delicate in body, while Membré had a body of iron with herculean physical strength. Marquette had an imagination, vivid and compelling; while Membré appears to have been a practical person, obeying orders, following the leader. Both, however, performed important services in exploration, both suffered death in the wilderness, each gave all he had to the task of threading an unknown region and carrying the flag of France and the cross of Christ to distant lands.

Membré's chief title to a limited fame must always be his narratives of his journeys with La Salle from the Niagara to the mouth of the Mississippi and return, and later to the fatal settlement in Texas. These narratives have been obscured by abbreviation and inclusion in the work of another, Chrestien LeClerc's, *Établissement de la foy dans la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1691). The author of this biography has thrown Membré's contributions into fuller light, has translated letters hitherto little noticed, and has shown that the contributions of Membré were more considerable than has been recognized. He was at a disadvantage in his earlier years by competition with Hennepin, who although occasionally mendacious is always interesting. Membré tells a plain tale, but it is to be relied upon for accuracy and truth.

Membré comes into his own during the Mississippi voyage of 1682. On this he was La Salle's chief chaplain; his descriptions vie with those of the chief and of Tonty in narrating the events of that important discovery, and he proved his devotion by nursing La Salle back to health after his severe illness on the return journey. Our author has concentrated on the sources for this voyage and in his appendix gives a translation of Membré's letter from Margry; a newly discovered letter of Tonty; and argues, somewhat successfully that Membré was the author of the so-called "official report" of the discovery.

For the last voyage of La Salle to the Gulf of Mexico, his settlement in Texas, his murder, and the destruction of the settlement, Father Habig gives us no new material. He does not seem to have seen Baron Villiers du Terrage's last book on La Salle's expedition in the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>1</sup> He takes the traditional view of Parkman and earlier writers, while he accepts Bolton's locations for the events. Indeed, although his bibliography is good and his industry and erudition notable, he relies largely on the older writers—Sparks, Shea, and Parkman. He apparently knows nothing of the reviewer's writings, aside from the editorial phase.

On the whole Father Habig has made a good case for the subject of

<sup>1</sup>Baron Marc de Villiers, *L'expédition de Cavalier de la Salle dans le Golfe du Mexique (1684-1687)* (Paris, 1931).

his biography; he has lifted Membré from his obscure position, and shown him as an actor in all of La Salle's enterprises and discoveries. He has given added importance to Membré's writings, and by this biography has placed his subject among the French explorers of the seventeenth century.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

*Washington et Jumonville.* Par l'Abbé GEORGE ROBITAILLE. Montréal: Le Devoir. 1933. Pp. 67. (60 cents)

TAKING occasion of a new life of Washington by Bernard Faÿ, the author raises the burning question of Washington's conduct in his encounter with Jumonville, on that fateful twenty-eighth of May, 1754. The facts are simple: Washington's detachment of forty Virginians with about ten Indians found a party of thirty-two Frenchmen led by Jumonville, while they were asleep in a hollow. Though in *time of peace*, Washington opened fire on the *sleeping Frenchmen*. They woke up quickly enough. After two discharges, the attacking party waited for a while. Then Jumonville started to read the message he was bearing when a new discharge killed him, and the French started to return fire, but attacked in the rear they had soon to surrender. In Washington's own words, the Indians "served to knock the poor, unhappy wounded in the head, and berev'd them of their scalps". A few days later, when surrendering Fort Necessity to the French, Washington signed a capitulation, in which he acknowledged his *assassination* of Jumonville.

The facts are damning for Washington. Even if we admit his strange contention that the interpreter, Van Bram, a captain in a Virginian regiment, was "little acquainted with the English tongue",<sup>1</sup> he still remains guilty of an attack against a despatch-bearer, recognized as such by himself. His next explanation that they came as spies, does not amount to anything, specially when one remembers that Washington did exactly the year before what Jumonville was doing—took a message with a strong escort to a French force, by whom he was never fired upon as a spy, though his report is extant to prove his real motive. Last, against him, stands the fact that, in time of peace, he fired on sleeping men, when he could, having the benefit of surprise and numbers, have arrested the whole party.

This action appeared in such unfavourable light that Robinson, the British colonial minister, told the French ambassador that such a deed would not remain unpunished and the guilty parties should be brought to justice.

The Abbé Robitaille has produced a very impartial exposition of the facts. He has brought out strong evidence, which could have been made stronger. He stands on wholly indisputable grounds, when he claims for history the right of judging Captain George Washington according to his conduct, irrespective of his later career as a great national leader. The exaggeration of American writers in idolizing Washington cannot prevent history from sternly condemning his rash and brutal deed.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

<sup>1</sup>It seems strange that if Van Bram had been the man whose ignorance had trapped Washington into signing himself an assassin, Washington would have later granted him 9,000 acres of land and a commission as major.

*The Russians in California.* By E. O. ESSIG, ADELE OGDEN, and C. J. DuFOUR. San Francisco: California Historical Society (reprinted from its *Quarterly*, vol. XII). 1933. Pp. 88.

THIS composite volume contains three papers dealing with Fort Ross, the Russian settlement near Bodega Bay. It opens with a brief Russian summary of the story of the colony. The introduction contains the remarkable statement that the fort was built in 1812 "by the permission of the Spanish Government". The conduct of Spain from 1813 onward shows that she submitted rather than consented to this intrusion on her territory. The first paper on "The Russian settlement at Ross", by E. O. Essig is a general outline of the story of the establishment. The genesis of the post was ostensibly the desire of Baranof to secure a base for fur-hunting, agriculture, and the obtaining of a food supply for his Alaskan traders. No stress is laid on a deeper design in Baranof's mind: enlarged Russian sovereignty. This section includes an exact description of the fort, the settlement, the buildings, and their present condition. The second article on "Russian sea-otter and seal hunting on the Californian coast, 1803-1841", by Adele Ogden, contains a particularly interesting and complete sketch of the poaching partnerships of Russians and Americans from 1803 to 1812 on the coasts of Spanish America. That utter disregard of Spanish rights continued, when Fort Ross having been founded, the Russians determined to carry on the poaching alone. In 1823 came the next step—a license system in which Mexico, now an independent state, shared, or rather was supposed to share, in the catch of sea-otter and fur-seal. This existed until 1831; but after that date Mexico refused to grant to the Russians any hunting rights on her coast on any terms whatever. By that time, however, the sea-otter had become practically extinct. This section evinces wide research and much study. The author has succeeded in producing an accurate and attractive picture of the changing conditions. Some of the vessels mentioned by her played a part in the sea-otter trade of the North-west Coast. The third contribution, by C. J. DuFour, brings the end of the Russian dream. It sketches the various attempts of the Russians to dispose of their "white elephant" to the Hudson's Bay Company and its ultimate sale to John A. Sutter, the "Swiss adventurer".

The book thus deals with, and brings together in easily accessible form, the whole story of this attempt to found a colony, which was only abandoned after nearly forty years of trial had proved it to be a failure. The appendix, of twenty-eight pages, contains valuable source material. The volume is well illustrated; it has a good bibliography; but it lacks that essential of every book—an index.

F. W. HOWAY

*Twenty-second Report of the Department of Public Records and Archives of Ontario, 1933.* By ALEXANDER FRASER. Toronto: Printed and published by Herbert H. Ball, printer to the king's most excellent majesty. 1934. Pp. ix, 215.

THIS is the latest, and by no means the least interesting, of the admirable *Reports* of the Ontario Archives: it contains the minutes of the court of

general quarter sessions of the peace for the London district of Upper Canada, 1800-1809, 1813-1818, the records for the years 1810-2 being unfortunately lost. The Province of Upper Canada, some years later than these records deal with, was divided into districts each having magistrates and a court of quarter sessions on the model of the system in England, which was followed as closely as possible.

In the proceedings here printed we find many familiar names, amongst them, Joseph Ryerson, who was the only person prosecuted on this continent for *Scandulum magnatum*, and Benajah Mallory, a member of parliament, a traitor, and a fugitive in the War of 1812. Some of the duties of the justices of the peace seem odd to us. They bound out the poor lad as an apprentice, they made provision for the destitute, they paid the member of the provincial parliament 10s. Halifax currency, that is \$2.00 a day, for his attendance in parliament. They recommended for a licence to sell liquor though they did not themselves grant a licence. Anyone but a clergyman of the Church of England who desired to perform the ceremony of marriage must obtain a licence from them, and that he could do only by proving that he was an ordained minister of some church. Applicants did not always succeed, their proof being considered defective.

They provided "movable stocks and a whipping post" and used them: William Rice who threw down the stocks was set in them for half-an-hour, and Peter Combs convicted of "petty larceny" was sentenced to "receive twenty lashes upon his bare back well laid on"—which the sheriff being ordered to "put into immediate execution, it was done accordingly". If what he stole had been a little more valuable, he would have been hanged. Even those acquitted had to pay costs. They provided a gaol not only for criminals but also for debtors who might be allowed a fire on terms; "prison bounds" were considered within the limits of which, the imprisoned debtor was allowed to roam; and "William Rice for words spoken before, and in open contempt of the court" was sent to gaol for two hours. They had charge of the assessment, raising levies for added fire-places; and of the roads, appointing inspectors and directing statute labour thereon.

Perhaps the most curious duty they had to perform was to witness married women barring their dower in lands sold by their husbands. It was not until the other day that a married woman was considered a real human being and capable of looking after her own interests. If she was willing to bar her dower in her husband's land, she had to say so in the presence of a judicial tribunal.

A large proportion of the offences which came before this court consisted of cases of assault and battery—the penalty ran from 2s. (40 cents) to £5 (\$20.00). Sabbath-breaking was more than once charged and punished with a small fine of 3s. 4d. (67 cents). Profane swearing was punished with a small fine, sometimes 2s. (40 cents); one for two oaths was fined 5s. (\$1.00). Drunkenness was punished in the same way. When two magistrates were charged with drunkenness and a third with profane cursing, it was determined that the cases "do lay over til the next Assiz niciprius to be holden in and for this district". The magistrates were not always civil to each other. Benajah Mallory had to complain

of the "Beheavor" of Joseph Ryerson. Mallory himself, when called upon for bail for his good behaviour by a man who "threatened to send him to gaol . . . positively refused . . . said he had done nothing and plead priviledge as being a member of parliament".

The offences most severely punished were taking more than the statutory twelfth at a gristmill for grinding and bolting—one offender was fined £10 (\$40.00)—and selling "spirituous liquors" without a licence, which drew a fine of £20 (\$80.00).

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

*The Perkins Bull Collection: Historical Paintings by Canadian Artists, illustrating Pioneers and Pioneering in the County of Peel.* Printed privately for the founder of the collection at the town of Brampton in the County of Peel. [The Charters Press, 1934.] Pp. 143.

*From Medicine Man to Medical Man: A Record of a Century and a Half of Progress in Health and Sanitation as exemplified by Developments in Peel.* By WILLIAM PERKINS BULL. (The Perkins Bull Historical Series [Vol. I].) Toronto: The Perkins Bull Foundation. George J. McLeod, Ltd. 1934. Pp. xviii, 457. (\$10.00)

THESE two volumes are the tangible first-fruits of the author's intention to do for the little but important County of Peel what, in his *Landmarks of Toronto*, the late Mr. John Ross Robertson did for the city a generation since. They mark the dawn, in Ontario, of a new conception of the meaning of local history and the beginning of a new era in the artistic production of books. Format, binding, paper, print, and engravings, some in colour, some in black and white, make a very strong appeal to the reader. Both contain a most ingeniously contrived, exceedingly helpful, informing map of the county. Worked into the design of the cover of the one and into that of the general title-page of the other are to be read the names of the dozen or more volumes which are yet to come.

The first book has by way of introduction the founder's foreword with articles by five well-known artists. On these artists, and on some ninety others, succinct biographical notes appear, together with descriptions of the one hundred and sixty-nine canvases they have presented to the collection. Besides these are listed eleven "miscellaneous", eleven photographs, and eight engravings, biographies of the subjects of all the portraits being given. They, with the landscapes, houses, hotels, barns, and animals, form a most valuable collection, for which a permanent home is to be found in Brampton, the county town.

In the second book, with its Eton and Oxford blue cover, has been provided for the student, in addition to the numerous illustrations, an admirable biographical appendix containing very brief notices, alphabetically arranged, of two hundred and fifty-two doctors and forty-seven dentists who were born in Peel or who practised there; a bibliography, chronologically arranged, under the heading of (1) manuscript material, (2) bulletins, pamphlets, and reports, (3) directories, journals, magazines, and periodicals, (4) books; abbreviations; and an index.

The scope of the book is clearly indicated by the explanatory sentence



of its title and by this one on page 223: "The morbid evidence of childhood devastation in Peel was just a local symbol of a world-wide terror." Accordingly there is no need for apology or for justification for treating of the history of the development of medicine and surgery in general or of hospitals for tuberculosis in Ontario, which are closely associated with the name of the late Sir William Gage, of the author's own war hospital in London, medical education for women, in the initiation of which a woman from Peel County played a prominent rôle, the achievements of men like Robinson, Wanless, Starr, members of the Aikins family, Silverthorn, Banting, Osler. All of this has received the approval of six outstanding men, four of whom have written epistles commendatory.

Purely local material is found in abundance—dealing with herbalists, inventors of wholesome patent medicines and a tried cure for surface cancers, "mothers' remedies", quacks, diatribes against them by "Solomon" (the Rev. R. J. MacGeorge) in the *Streetsville Review*, epidemics, fights for improved sanitation and improved supplies of milk, baby weeks, the county medical association, the realization at last of the women's institutes' hopes of obtaining a county hospital—as a memorial to the war dead of the county. Reference must be made to most interesting accounts of the life work of men such as Barnhart, McFayden, Moore, Pattullo, Dunning, Algie, the Hagyards, the Heggies, father, sons, and grandson, the spiritual healer, Father McSperritt, and devoted women who, with or without training, tended the sick unweariedly. These all have their true meaning only when compared with the sufferings, the endeavours, and the progress of other places in the province, the dominion, and the world at large.

The county, which is a modern one by comparison with those set apart by Colonel Simcoe and his council in 1792, is naturally considered to some extent along with York, with which it was for many years associated municipally and judicially before and after the disappearance of the second home district. These facts and sundry others, such as the names of the five townships and the populations at divers periods, we learn incidentally; but doubtless similar items of information will be set down in more connected form in some of the later volumes.

With diffidence the query might be put, Was it not the Trinity Medical Faculty, rather than "School" (p. 115), which went out of existence in 1850? Was it not the Trinity Medical School, presently to be called "College", instead of the "Upper Canada School of Medicine" (p. 232), which, in affiliation with Trinity College—and other universities—was associated with the former from 1871 to 1903? The Trinity Medical School, having had no power to confer degrees, but only diplomas of fellowship, could hardly have "eased the sting of the affront by ceremoniously bestowing degrees upon each of the women graduates" (p. 212). Dr. Alcide de la Haye's father, first French master in Upper Canada College, would be more correctly described as Mr., rather than as "Professor", de la Haye (p. 157), even though he and his colleagues were not infrequently spoken of as "Professors of York (or Toronto) College", between 1829 and 1843, when Upper Canada College was the highest institution of learning in the province. Though mentioned in this



and other connections, the college does not find a place in the index, one of the very few cases of omission.

These are small matters, considering the mass of detail covered by the book, which is to be highly commended because of the masterly fashion in which the material has been sifted and correlated. It contains remarkably few irrelevancies and it sets an entirely new and high standard for county histories. Its being enlivened with humour is all to the good. It is a thoroughly worthy offering to the late Mrs. Bull, to whom it is dedicated and of whom it presents a beautiful portrait, beautifully reproduced.

It remains to add that the edition is limited to one thousand copies, of which only eight hundred and seventy-five are for sale. A most delightful ending is formed by the picture of a restful-looking rocking chair which has belonged to several generations of Sir Frederick Banting's ancestresses in Peel, one of whom at least had power seemingly to bewitch young men.

A. H. YOUNG

*Les députés des Trois-Rivières (1792-1808).* Par E. FABRE SURVEYER et FRANCIS J. AUDET. (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 9.) Les Trois-Rivières: Le Bien Public. 1933. Pp. 82.

*Les députés de Saint-Maurice et de Buckinghamshire (1792 à 1808).* Par E. FABRE SURVEYER et FRANCIS J. AUDET. (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 10.) Les Trois-Rivières: Imprimerie St. Joseph. 1934. Pp. 94.

*Les députés des Trois-Rivières, 1808-1838.* Par FRANCIS J. AUDET. (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 11.) Les Trois-Rivières: Le Bien Public. 1934. Pp. 76.

*Les députés de Saint-Maurice (1808-1838) et de Champlain (1830-1838).* Par FRANCIS J. AUDET. (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 12.) Les Trois-Rivières: Le Bien Public. 1934. Pp. 78.

*Les députés de la région des Trois-Rivières (1841-1867).* Par FRANCIS J. AUDET. (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 13.) Les Trois-Rivières: Le Bien Public. 1934. Pp. 92.

*Le Comté de Maskinongé (1853-1863): Notes historiques, statistiques et biographiques.* Par FRANCIS J. AUDET. (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 16.) Les Trois-Rivières: Le Bien Public. 1934. Pp. 51.

To one familiar with biographical work, the simple mention that the six above booklets contain over fifty biographies will reveal at once the extent and value of the present publications. They are the result of indefatigable research patiently carried on in the course of years of labour. Remembering the great difficulty encountered in tracing the lives of local worthies, owing to a scantiness of material, due to their relative obscurity, one will also realize the great debt we owe to Mr. Audet and, in part also, to Mr. Fabre Surveyer for presenting us with such useful biographical and political information on Lower Canada during the period stretching from 1792 to 1867.

Of course, these biographies vary in abundance according to the importance of the members concerned. They are, naturally, copious in the case of Justice De Bonne, Papineau, Vallières de St. Réal, national figures in Quebec history; still much more precious are the few pages

devoted to men, who have long been swallowed by public oblivion and whose only public distinction has consisted in being elected a member by some stroke of fate. The merit of the present sketches is that they have been able to present in almost each case an interesting account of these "morning glories".

The author has inserted in the course of his narratives many interesting documents which tend rather to dull and break the narrative. It would have been better to publish such material as appendices.

One notes with pleasure the presence of a bibliography at the end of each volume, except in the case of the first. But each is completed by a good nominal index, that adds to the usefulness of these publications.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

*Gaspé depuis Cartier.* Par CHARLES-EUGÈNE ROY et LUCIEN BRAULT. Québec: Au Moulin des Lettres. 1934. Pp. 233. (\$2.00)

ONE of the many books brought forth as a result of the Cartier quadricentenary celebrations, the present story of Gaspé is replete with valuable information carefully gathered from many primary and printed sources. It traces the various changes that overtook the place, from the unknown bay first sighted by Cartier to the prosperous little town of to-day. Unfortunately the splitting of the material under overlapping heads, has resulted in some incompleteness in both the treatment and the sequence of historical facts. This is the more regrettable as there is no index to direct the reader in his search for the needed information.

Obsessed by the Cartier celebration the authors have been unable to resist the temptation of capitalizing Cartier's voyage of 1534. To his exploration, they have devoted one-third of the book. Their enthusiasm has been betrayed into several traps, for instance, into misinterpreting Cabot's voyages and character, into accepting the Village Point as the place of Cartier's cross, which was really planted at Penouille, and turning the Breton captain into a secular propagandist of the Christian faith.

As to the illustrations, there is a real debauch of them, especially portraits of all possible worthies, but, of course, this is the almost inevitable side of any memorial volume, anxious to conciliate local vanities and promote a good sale. The reader must be warned against accepting too confidently certain assertions and dates too numerous to be listed here. Still, considering its atmosphere, the book is a useful publication for local information.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

*Zwischen U.S.A. und den Pol. Kanada, Neufundland, Labrador und die Arktis.* By COLLIN ROSS. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1934. Pp. 310; 1 map, 71 illustrations. (RM. 6)

HERR ROSS is a well-known German traveller with a dozen books of travel in all parts of the world to his credit. The sub-title of the book under review is somewhat misleading because only twenty-five pages are devoted to Labrador and the Arctic, of which three are blank and four carry full-page illustrations. In a note dealing with the photographs reproduced the author states that they were either taken by him or the Canadian National Railways. Be that as it may, the picture of a group of musk-oxen (p.

304) is remarkably similar to the frontispiece of a book entitled *Conserving Canada's musk-oxen* by Mr. W. B. Hoare, published in 1930 for the Department of the Interior.

Compared with two other travel books on Canada by Herr Ross's compatriots, J. G. Kohl (*Reisen in Canada*, 1856) and von Hesse-Wartegg (*Kanada und Neufundland*, 1888) the author's volume is disappointing. There is neither the sound background of historical and sociological knowledge with which every traveller should equip himself, nor that love of the subject, which, even if it be detrimental to objectivity, breathes life into a narrative. Most of the material in the book was first published as newspaper articles, and as such it makes easy reading.

In reference to Newfoundland we read (p. 46) that England has robbed that ancient colony of her independence in order to "block the last ingress left to non-British Europeans to America". Later (p. 63) we are informed that Newfoundland is drifting from the motherland. Mr. Thomas will feel quite a Machiavelli when he hears that "die Intervention Grossbritanniens in den neufundländischen Finanzschwierigkeiten ist ein Beweis dafür, dass England den Atlant nicht völlig aufgibt" (p. 65). In the introduction the author shakes a monitory finger at Canada, warning her that she has no right to be in possession of such a large portion of the surface of the globe and not throw open her gates to all. Densely populated countries, he says, will not "in the long-run put up with a few million people making a preserve of a whole continent" (p. 6). A large section of the book deals with the French Canadians. The Château de Ramezay seems to have been in Quebec when Herr Ross was there, because the caption belonging to the photograph runs: "The houselet from which Montcalm directed the defence of Quebec for many months" (p. 80). After this one is not surprised that the central span of Quebec bridge collapsed when a train was passing over it and two hundred lives were lost (p. 84). What really happened was bad enough. In August, 1907, the south cantilever collapsed and nearly seventy men lost their lives, and in September 1916 the central span slipped and sank to the bottom of the river during hoisting operations. "Villa Marie" is a misprint for Ville Marie (p. 88). Voltaire did not speak of "snow hills" (p. 92). Verazzano continually appears as "Verazzani". It is wrong to say (p. 109) that after 1759 all the French "aristocracy, educated and better classes left Canada" (p. 150). A remarkable and interesting statement (*ibid.*) is that Herr Ross considers Amos the strangest city he has ever seen in all his travels. And I must agree that the impression made by the church with its great cupola is remarkable. But why did he not include a photograph of that strange city? The word "Lose" is not a correct rendering of town lot (p. 153). The Harricanaw River will hardly be sufficiently familiar to German—or most other non-Canadian readers for that matter—that they will notice it should not be spelt "Hurricana" (p. 163). The author must have been delving in newly discovered historical documents (without, however, betraying this fact to his readers) as he informs us (p. 200) that La Vérendrye and his sons stayed in the west where they mixed with the natives and were thus the ancestors of the Métis. It is surprising that a traveller with Herr Ross's experience should write that the Peace

River wheat lands are further north than the northernmost point of Scotland (p. 256). When dealing with his voyage to Labrador (Cartwright) and the Arctic (Dundas and Craig Harbour) it is surprising that so discursive a writer should only devote so little space to what must certainly have been a highly interesting and rare experience and only make two remarks that point to personal impressions, the one to the effect that he "got on well everywhere with Polar dogs", and on the way to Dundas Harbour (North Devon) "we had several hundred buffalo skins and 5½ tons of dried buffalo-meat for the Eskimo" (p. 304). Nevertheless this book will no doubt be read with interest and a certain amount of profit by those who have no previous knowledge of Canada and things Canadian. There is no index.

LOUIS HAMILTON

*A History of Canada for High Schools.* By JAMES BINGAY. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1934. Pp. 576. (\$1.75)

THE author of this new and attractive high-school text has succeeded in writing a clear and thoroughly interesting history of Canada. In discussing difficult constitutional topics, he has kept to essentials; in dealing with exploration or settlement, he has put in the colourful details necessary to attract adolescents; and he has always tried to make the chief actors stand out as real persons. In two cases he has even introduced dialogue in order to describe conditions more interestingly. There are over one hundred illustrations, eight of them full-page and in colours. Maps, except for two or three old ones, are omitted, but there are many references to Burpee's *Historical atlas of Canada*. References to other histories are almost entirely to such books as pupils can read profitably, and which can be secured readily.

The choice of material is interesting. Political, social, and industrial developments have adequate attention. The constitutional side of Canadian history, which for high-school classes is the most difficult and the least interesting, is treated briefly but clearly. For instance, the accounts of the development of responsible government from 1840 to 1850 and the growth of Canadian autonomy after the Great War are clear, and adequate for high-school purposes. The geographical background of Canadian history fortunately receives more attention than usual, but happily the famous boundary disputes, although mentioned, are treated very lightly. The causes and results of wars receive as much attention as usual, but the story of military operations is very much cut down.

The author has made much use of source material in the earlier part of the book by weaving sentences or even whole paragraphs into his narrative. In the case of the Quebec Act he quotes over a page, and one wishes he had done so for the British North America Act also. One is impressed with the general accuracy of the text, but a few minor errors have crept in. The most important of these is the statement (p. 208), in connection with the founding of representative government in Nova Scotia, that the year 1758 marks "the beginning of colonial self-government in any part of the world, under any modern nation". When one recalls that assemblies had been established long before this in the

English colonies to the south, it is hard to understand in what sense the statement can be true.

The size of this text suggests that it is meant for senior high-school classes. For them, and perhaps for some college classes, it is worthy of very careful consideration, and one may hope that it will have a wide sale among the general public.

GEORGE M. JONES

*The American Aborigines, their Origin and Antiquity: A Collection of Papers by Ten Authors.* Edited by DIAMOND JENNESS. (Published for presentation at the Fifth Pacific Science Congress, Canada, 1933.)

Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1933. Pp. 396. (\$2.50)

FOR presentation at the Fifth Pacific Science Congress last year, the National Research Council sponsored this volume of essays upon the American Indians. It compares favourably with analogous publications elsewhere, and for this credit is due to the editor, Mr. D. Jenness of the National Museum. On him fell the duty of preparing an outline into which would fit contributions from various authors, and then of enlisting their support; perhaps the highest tribute to the editor is to say that the volume is much more than a haphazard assortment of unconnected papers.

This does not mean that *The American aborigines* is an absolute unity; it is written by ten authors, each with his own style, interest, and views. Yet a common thread runs throughout as each writer contributes his quota upon the racial affinities of the Indians, the place and the time of their coming to North America, and the origins of their cultural achievements. Although no conclusive answer can be given to many of the questions involved, an authoritative summary of the difficulties and of the gaps in knowledge in itself serves to clear the ground and to formulate lines of attack. Each essay, in fact, is a summing-up of what is known concerning an aspect of investigation bearing upon the history of the Indians. Anthropological literature is pouring out so rapidly that specialization is inevitable; hence the value of such summaries by specialists is self-evident.

Without citing each of the ten essays, it is difficult to give more than the barest outline of the volume as a whole. The first two articles deal with the geological and palaeontological evidence concerning man's coming to America, followed by the evidence from archaeology and somatology. Then follow three essays on more strictly ethnological lines, one upon the diversity of Indian culture, and two upon the genesis of Central and South American civilizations. Then follow sections upon the possibility of trans-oceanic contacts in the south and north Pacific, with a final essay on the special problems of the Eskimo. The plan is logical and it has been carried through by the co-operation of ten leading scientists, two Canadian, seven American, and one Swedish.

No summing-up has been attempted; in fact, it would be impossible to sum up views which are not always in harmony. In broad outline, the conclusions are that the ancestors of the American Indian migrated to North America by way of Bering Strait at the close of the Glacial period, and that the development of his culture has taken place within

America, without foreign influence—always excepting continued contact to and fro between Alaska and Asia which has affected the Eskimo and the Indians of the North-west Coast. There is nothing radical or new in these opinions; their importance lies in the careful analysis of the evidence involved. Particularly in Europe, there is a tendency to overlook the scattered publications which throw light upon American origins; this volume meets that need admirably. In this connection there is one slight ground for criticism; most of the essays give full references, but these are lacking in some cases, perhaps in unjustifiable optimism concerning the range of scientific knowledge. This is a minor point and the editor, the contributors, and the National Research Council alike are to be commended and congratulated.

T. F. McILWRAITH

*Papers and Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association.* Volume VI. Montreal, Quebec, May, 1934. Kingston, Ont.: The Jackson Press. 1934. Pp. 284. (\$3.00)

THIS volume deals with a great variety of problems and should appeal to a wide circle of readers. Perhaps the papers of greatest public interest are the presidential address by Stephen Leacock on "The revision of democracy" and E. W. Beatty's analysis of "The Canadian transportation problem". In deft and witty phrase the former challenges some of our cherished Anglo-Saxon institutions of government as they crack under the strains of an industrialized and technical age. In the latter the president of the C.P.R. advances a thesis on the railway problem which has received widespread publicity and on which Mr. J. L. Macdougall and Mr. H. A. Innis make some pertinent comments.

Other papers are of more specialized interest. For the economist there are discussions of interest-rates and price-fluctuations and of Canadian monetary policy. For both economist and historian the papers on "Tariffs and trade in the British North American provinces before Confederation", "The bases of provincial subsidies", and "Provincial conferences and better terms" are not only of intrinsic interest but are also valuable as an enrichment of background for the study of the problem of constitutional revision which looms ever larger on the horizon in Canada. This in turn is discussed by Mr. W. C. Goldberg and Mr. F. H. Underhill. Other immediate problems are also dealt with: the portentous phenomenon of economic nationalism and its repercussions on Canadian agriculture, agricultural credit and governmental policies in western Canada, and the status of aliens in Canada. The studies of Canadian population begun in the volumes for 1930 and 1933 are also here continued by a group of scholars who break new ground. Factors in the growth of rural population in eastern Canada are extensively illustrated with tables, and of especial interest is Mr. W. B. Hurd's ingenious analysis of population movements in Canada as a whole from 1921 to 1931, which would seem to indicate that, despite her vast area, Canada is faced with an acute problem of population possessing widespread social and economic ramifications.

Each successive volume of these papers emphasizes the rôle which the Political Science Association is capable of playing in the intellectual

and public life of Canada. The annual business meeting appointed Mr. D. A. MacGibbon, the newly elected president, as chairman of a committee to consider the possibility of publishing a quarterly journal. The acknowledged need of such a publication would seem to make the time ripe for this move.

M. H. LONG

*Canadian History: A Syllabus and Guide to Reading.* By REGINALD GEORGE TROTTER. New and enlarged edition. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. xiv, 193. (\$1.75)

THIS new edition of Professor Trotter's useful and valuable guide and syllabus (first published in 1926 and reviewed in the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VII, 58) has been brought up to date by adding a new section dealing with the most outstanding contributions to Canadian history that have appeared in the last eight years. Although certain small revisions—the addition of items regarding a new volume or edition, etc.—have been made in the main body of the work, it is, on the whole, a reprint of the 1926 pages. Professor Trotter explains in his preface to the new edition that "present depressed conditions in publishing make it imperative that the enlargement of the volume shall be accomplished in the simplest manner possible". The enlarging of a volume of this kind by merely adding a new section, although apparently economically necessary, has very serious drawbacks. It means, of course, that material is divided, and in some instances an erroneous impression is given in the old portion of the book, i.e., under "Canada Archives" (p. 22) the edition of 1916 of the *Catalogue of pamphlets, journals, and reports in the Public Archives* is listed with no indication that a new two-volume guide to the pamphlets was published in 1931 and 1932. This appears separately in the new material at the end of the book.

In the old section, we note that the two indexes of the *Review of historical publications relating to Canada* do not appear, although the 1930 index to the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* is mentioned in the new section. Under the heading "Learned Societies whose publications contain material of value in the study of Canadian history" (pp. 17-8), the Oregon Historical Society and the Washington University State Historical Society might well be included. The new section would be easier to use if the material had been spaced, and divided under topical headings. As a matter of fact, the whole book would be improved considerably by a use of bold type for headings. On page 152, "Cordingly" should be "Cordingley" and "G. de P. Glazebrook" (on p. 159 and in the index) should be "G. P. de T." A most useful addition to the reference books would have been the *List of the serial publications of foreign governments, 1815-1931*, edited by W. Gregory (New York, 1932) with its extensive section on Canada and its provinces. The index has been completely re-cast to include references to the new section.

ALISON EWART



## CORRESPONDENCE

### I. D. ANDREWS AND THE RECIPROCITY TREATY OF 1854

(The following letter has been received from Mr. T. H. Le Duc, a graduate of Columbia University, who is now attending the school of graduate studies at the University of Toronto.)

Mr. Overman's article on Israel D. Andrews in the September issue of the REVIEW is of interest for the light it sheds on the attempts of the Canadian government to appease anti-reciprocity sentiment in the Maritime Provinces and the United States. No less important, perhaps, is the untold story of how the British government became entangled in the financing of Andrews's systematic lobbying. In a period when colonial affairs attracted little enthusiasm in parliament and received little attention from the government, reciprocity stands out as a *cause célèbre*. Andrews boasted that he converted the issue from a Canadian to an imperial question. The truth is that it became an imperial question when free trade became imperial policy. And though parliament was indifferent, a number of its leaders seem to have grasped the dynamic nature of the problem and its relation to annexation proposals. Lord Elgin admitted realistically that, "unless reciprocity of trade with the United States be established, these colonies must be lost to England".<sup>1</sup> Elgin scorned Andrews's offers of "valuable service", but he usually gave him a hearing and passed his proposals on to Grey. Another clue to the depth of British concern is found in the activities of the legation in Washington. As early as 1850 H. L. Bulwer, the minister, gave Andrews an extended audience and allowed him to submit a thirteen-page memorandum emphasizing the desirability of including the Maritime Provinces in any reciprocity agreement, the necessity of assuaging adverse opinion in Pennsylvania and several other eastern states, and the need for practically unlimited funds. Bulwer forwarded this revealing outline to Palmerston with a note declaring that while it appeared possible that Andrews might have some patriotic interest in a public question, "it is evident to me that his object is also to get employed in the matter and to better himself by doing so".<sup>2</sup> Palmerston immediately responded to Bulwer's despatch with an authorization "to incur any reasonable expense which he may find useful".<sup>3</sup> The degree to which Bulwer aided Andrews can be only conjectured, but Lord Elgin vouches that some money changed hands,<sup>4</sup> and certain it is that Bulwer's secret-service accounts took a curious jump from October, 1850, to February, 1851.<sup>5</sup>

During the tenure of Bulwer's lethargic successor, John Crampton,

<sup>1</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *Miscellaneous letters*, Lord Elgin, 1849, III: Elgin to Grey, May 28, 1849.

<sup>2</sup>Library of Congress, Photostats of Foreign Office papers, *Series 5*, vol. 515-III, unnumbered: Bulwer to Palmerston, October 7, 1850 (private).

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.* See Palmerston's notation on reverse. Confidential copies were sent to the Colonial Office on November 1, 1850.

<sup>4</sup>J. L. Morison, *The eighth Earl of Elgin* (London, 1927), 181 ff.: Elgin to Clarendon, August, 1855.

<sup>5</sup>Foreign Office papers, *Series 5*, various volumes 515 *et seq.*

and especially during the short term of the reactionary Derby ministry of 1852, Andrews appears to have made little progress, but he was constantly pestering Elgin. During the latter's absence in England in 1853-4, Andrews received a new commission from the American government to resume his activities on behalf of reciprocity. When he learned that Elgin had been given instructions to make a special mission to Washington to negotiate a treaty, he arranged to have delegates from the British provinces meet Lord Elgin on his arrival in New York in May, 1854, there to present to him the claims of their respective communities. As Lord Elgin pointed out,<sup>6</sup> this course was actually prejudicial to the cause of reciprocity, for every delegate took an aggressive position scarcely conducive to that unity of purpose that was requisite before Elgin could negotiate any definite treaty in Washington. In this affair Andrews's part savours more of the promoter than of the diplomat. If it is true that he could approach everyone and offend no one, it must be admitted that it was only with the crudest offers of bribery.

The question of whether Andrews profited personally on his accounts must remain partly a mystery. The suspicion that he did so cannot but remain a strong one. Elgin and Bulwer agreed that his motives were mercenary. Secretary of State Marcy, who had no taste for fraud, returned Andrews's accounts as improper to be laid before the auditor.<sup>7</sup> The evidence showing that he collected money from three governments for identical services and expenses is fairly conclusive. George W. Brega, whom Mr. Overman mentions, wrote Seward in 1868, reporting his recent discovery that Andrews was attempting to perpetrate fraud, and seeking to withdraw all papers which he had presented on Andrews's behalf.<sup>8</sup> Samuel Whitney, too, filed with the secretary an affidavit declaring that the voucher for his salary was, as far as it was intended to obtain money from the United States, a fraud, and that he had been repaid by the Canadian government.<sup>9</sup>

Other incidents in Andrews's picturesque career give the impression that he was essentially an opportunist, willing to advocate whatever cause his current employer might demand. He tried to persuade Clarendon, through Elgin, to hire him to give American opinion on the Crimean War "a wholesome direction". In June, 1867, we find him furthering the cause of annexation by distributing in Canada a speech of Charles Sumner on the Alaska purchase and the possible extension of American hegemony.<sup>10</sup> He was, indeed, apparently prepared to advocate a cause which would result in stirring up anti-British sentiment in the United States, for only a month before his death we find him involved in some questionable lobbying on the question of Santo Domingo.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Morison, *Elgin*, loc. cit.

<sup>7</sup>Department of State, Washington, *Special agents series*, XVII (189): Marcy to Andrews, September 16, 1854.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*: Brega to Seward, April 20, 1868.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup>Harvard College library, *Charles Sumner papers*, vol. 82: Andrews to Sumner, June 27, 1867.

<sup>11</sup>Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., *N. P. Banks papers*: Andrews to Banks, January 17, 1871.

The writer is indebted to Mr. R. H. Luthin, of Duke University, for providing transcripts of the last two documents cited.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

1934 seems to have been more than usual a year of important historical celebrations. They were marked by pageants and other appropriate ceremonies and seem to have aroused a widespread interest in Canadian history. We hope that one of the permanent results of this public interest will be an increased appreciation of the value of those institutions whose duty it is to preserve and study the records of the past. Archives especially should take advantage of these occasions to demonstrate the value of their work, and where there are no archives interested parties should seize the opportunity to press their claims for action.

Toronto celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the granting of its city charter. A notable permanent accomplishment of historical interest was the restoration of Old Fort York through the co-operation of the city and interested parties, especially the historical societies. Contributions of individual societies have already been mentioned in our notes on the societies.

Three Rivers celebrated its tercentenary in July with pageants and other ceremonies. We have received a very fine special anniversary issue of *Le Nouvelliste* to which historical articles were contributed by the Abbé Albert Tessier, the Abbé Napoléon Caron, and others.

The celebration in August at Gaspé of the four hundredth anniversary of Cartier's first voyage was made an occasion of international interest. There were present special representatives of the four nations which have been associated in the historical development of North America—Great Britain, France, the United States, and Canada. The central ceremony was the unveiling, by Premier R. B. Bennett, of a great cross carved in stone from a quarry at St. Malo.

In August also there was celebrated at St. John the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of the Loyalists in New Brunswick and the establishment of the province as a separate colony. Of particular interest in this connection was the formal opening by Premier Bennett of the very fine new building which is to house the provincial museum. The museum dates back to 1842 when the Gesner collection was started by Abraham Gesner, the first provincial geologist and the discoverer of kerosene. It is now housed adequately for the first time. It is devoted to the preservation of collections illustrating the natural history, history, and industrial arts of the province. Its chief historical treasure is the magnificent collection presented by Dr. J. C. Webster, which comprises over four hundred items, including some three hundred and fifty framed pictures, and also over one hundred engravings. Dr. Webster has also expressed the intention of giving his very valuable library. The library and collection illustrate the history of the Maritime Provinces in the eighteenth century, and in particular its military aspects. It is one of the most valuable Wolfe collections in the world. The museum is also indebted to other private contributors such as Dr. W. F. Ganong. Some valuable collections of documents such as the *Winslow papers* have been donated to the museum, but we judge from descriptions in

the press that the archives branch is not as yet developed so fully as other phases of the museum's work. The provincial records of New Brunswick are a rich treasure not only for the province itself but for the dominion as a whole. We trust that the celebration of the past summer may effectively stimulate an interest in their preservation and organization.

As a supplement to the list of graduate theses in Canadian history, economics, and law, printed in the September issue of the REVIEW, we add the following titles:

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FOR THE DOCTOR'S DEGREE

- S. A. ANDERSON, A.B. Upsala 1927; A. M. Clark 1928. The economic background of the Viking voyages. *Columbia*.  
 J. D. BRITE, A.B. Wyoming 1922; A. M. Chicago 1924. The attitude of the European states toward emigration to the American colonies. *Chicago*.  
 HAROLD EUGENE PATTEN, A.B. California 1916; A. M. Columbia 1930. Economic aspects of the Ontario hydro-electric system. *Columbia*.

FOR THE MASTER'S DEGREE

- J. C. CLOUGH, B.A. Toronto 1930. The Right Rev. George J. Mountain, third Bishop of Quebec, down to 1839. *Toronto*.  
 V. B. J. COLLINS, B.A. Toronto 1928. The Right Rev. Charles James Stewart, second Bishop of Quebec, 1826-1837. *Toronto*.  
 PHILIP STUCHEN, M.A. Queen's 1934. Canadian appeals to the judicial committee of the privy council: A historical treatise. *Queen's*.

In the *American historical review* for October, 1934, there is an article by Julian P. Boyd, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, on state and local historical societies in the United States, which has a comparative interest for those interested in the work of the various historical societies in Canada.

It will be remembered that Professor W. B. Kerr of the University of Buffalo contributed two articles on the literature pertaining to Canada's participation in the Great War. They were printed with full bibliographies in our issues of December, 1933, and June, 1934. Professor Kerr has since then come across several additional titles which we now print in our list of recent publications. Professor Kerr has kindly consented to send us further references which may come to his attention and they will be printed from time to time in this list. The articles and these supplementary lists will provide our readers with a very complete bibliography on this important subject.

This issue contains three important contributions which should correct several common misapprehensions in respect of the establishment of the Church of England and the Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada. Professor A. H. Young of Trinity College, Toronto, discusses the nature of church establishment, and outlines its history from the Thirteen Colonies to its last traces in the years just after Confederation. The article by Dr. J. J. Talman of the Ontario Archives discusses the question in some detail for the period from the conquest to the union of the provinces in 1840. The documents on landed endowments throw light on the Clergy Reserves; the longer of the two provides one of the

clearest statements of pros and cons which has so far appeared in print. The other contributors to this issue are Professor J. A. Maxwell of Clark University who writes on the financial relations of Manitoba and the dominion in the period immediately following Confederation; Professor Morley J. Ayearst, of New York University, who describes the *Parti Rouge*; and Mr. T. W. L. MacDermot, formerly of McGill University and now national secretary of the League of Nations Society in Canada, who has written the review article.

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#### CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

*Art, Historical and Scientific Association, Vancouver.* The curator's report for July and for August and September lists the additions to the Vancouver city museum, including an interesting collection of relics from Ticonderoga. The number of visitors to the museum showed a very large and encouraging increase during the summer months.

The *Canadian Political Science Association* has decided to establish the *Canadian journal of economics and political science*, which will be published quarterly by the association and the University of Toronto Press. The editors nominated by the association are: C. A. Curtis, Queen's University, H. A. Innis, University of Toronto, R. A. MacKay, Dalhousie University, and, as managing editor, V. W. Bladen, University of Toronto. The journal will contain articles, notes, reviews of books, and a regular bibliography of Canadian economics. It will consist of approximately 112 pages. Copies of the journal will be sent free to members, together with any other publications which the association may publish during the year. The annual subscription is three dollars. Membership is open to all who are interested. Applications for membership should be sent to the secretary-treasurer, V. W. Bladen, 273 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario.

*The Champlain Society.* The appearance of the fifth volume of *Champlain's works* means that the task of bringing out this definitive edition, originally undertaken by the society at the time of the Quebec tercentenary, twenty-five years ago, is now within sight of completion. Only one more volume remains to be issued, and this will contain a full and elaborate index which will make more readily available the wealth of material in the work. The society will shortly publish also a book of documents relating to the history of the North West Company, including the minutes of the North West Company at Grand Portage and Fort William from 1803 to 1814.

*Haldimand Historical Society.* The organization of the society on November 2, 1933, and its subsequent meetings, have created much interest and historical activity in the county. The county council has given the society a room in the court house at Cayuga, and a fine collection of historical materials and relics has already been donated, including books, documents, pictures, pioneer utensils, and a number of Indian remains. President, David Duff, Cayuga; secretary, Mrs. Joseph Peart, Cayuga.

*Historical Association of Annapolis Royal.* At the sixteenth annual

meeting, held on Monday, October 22, the following officers were elected: president, W. Roy Smith; vice-presidents, Lieutenant-Colonel E. K. Eaton and Judge W. A. Livingstone; secretary, Miss H. Laura Hardy; treasurer, H. M. Doull. An address was given by Mrs. F. A. Richardson, of Cambridge, Mass., who has devoted much time to studying the history of Port Royal from 1604 to 1613 and to exploring the site of the first French stronghold in North America. Mrs. Richardson reviewed the history of the plan to rebuild Champlain's Habitation at Lower Granville. Interest in the rebuilding was renewed this year when the association purchased a farm which is part of the site of the habitation. (H. LAURA HARDY)

*History Association of Montreal.* The officers for 1934-5 are: honorary president, Dr. Charles W. Colby; president, Miss Isabel E. Brittain; vice-presidents, Dr. H. D. Brunt, Miss Eda M. Nelson; secretary-treasurer, E. Russell Paterson, 1523 Bishop Street, Montreal; assistant secretary, Miss Vernon Ross.

The *Kingston Historical Society* was host to the Ontario Historical Society during the latter's annual meeting in Kingston in June, 1934. The members held a tea at the society's home, Murney Redoubt, on Friday, June 29, and the visitors were shown through the building which was erected for the defence of the city in 1846. During the sessions, which were held in Queen's University, three of the local members delivered papers. The deputy minister of education for Ontario, Mr. Duncan McArthur, recently resigned as president of the society. The society has been conducting a tour of Murney Redoubt for the pupils in the entrance classes of the city schools. Over four hundred children were taken through the fortification during October of 1934, and are to write an essay on "What I learned on my visit to Murney Redoubt", for which prizes will be awarded. The society has conducted a vigorous membership campaign during October and has added nearly fifty to its roll. Secretary, W. S. Lavell, 151 Earl Street, Kingston. (W. S. LAVELL)

*Lundy's Lane Historical Society.* On Friday, October 5, on St. David's Hill, hundreds of citizens from Niagara Falls, Stamford, Niagara-on-the-Lake, etc., gathered to see the unveiling, by the lieutenant-governor of Ontario, of the cairn which was erected by the society and the Township of Stamford, to mark the site of "Stamford Cottage", the home of Sir Peregrine Maitland, lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, and an Indian ossuary, said to be the largest in Canada. Dr. Bruce's address, which outlined the career of Maitland in Upper Canada, is printed in the *Niagara Falls Evening review* of October 5, 1934. The president of the society is the Rev. Percival Mayes, and the secretary is James C. Morden, 2390 Lundy's Lane, Niagara Falls, Ontario.

*Niagara Historical Society.* President, the Rev. C. H. E. Smith, Niagara-on-the-Lake.

The *Norfolk Historical Society* held its autumn meeting on November 16 in the town hall, Port Dover. An interesting programme was arranged for the meeting, consisting of special addresses by the Rev. Canon Ryerson, Dr. E. W. Zumstein of Delhi, and Mr. W. E. Cantelon,

curator of the Norfolk Museum, who showed a number of his paintings relating to Port Dover's early history. President, E. H. Jackson.

The *Nova Scotia Historical Society* has published volume 22 of its *Collections*. Regular meetings of the society are held from November to April inclusive. President, B. Eaton Paterson; secretary, W. L. Payzant, K.C.

The *Royal Society of Canada* held its fifty-third annual meeting in Quebec from May 21 to 24. The Flavelle medal was awarded to Dr. L. V. King, the Lorne Pierce medal to Frederick Philip Grove, and the Tyrrell medal to Dr. J. C. Webster who has done so much to preserve and make better known, the historical records of the Maritime Provinces. The library of the society, which is housed in the National Research building, received during the past year 1,206 volumes. President, W. Lash Miller; secretary, Lawrence J. Burpee.

The *Ship Lovers' Association of Victoria* has a membership of over forty men, most of whom are former seamen. At least half the members have served in sail and steam on the Pacific coast and many historical notes on the shipping history of San Francisco, the Columbia River, Puget Sound, Vancouver Island, and Bering Sea have been entered in the association's log book. Several of the members, who are skilled craftsmen, have made interesting models of some of the early ships on the Pacific coast.

The *Similkameen Historical Association* held its annual meeting on August 17, with an attendance of over one hundred and fifty. The quarterly meeting of the association took place on October 26. A letter was read from S. D. Sandes, the original owner of the site of Princeton. Several photographs of old-time groups were received. Mrs. Kenny ("Beth Greenwood") exhibited a number of Indian relics, and recounted legends dealing with local Indian paintings. Miss Jessie Ewart read a paper on the history of the old stage coach recently acquired by the association. (JOHN C. GOODFELLOW)

*La Société Historique de Rigaud* has resumed its regular meetings with the following board of officers: president, the Rev. Father A. Gauthier; vice-president, M. deLery McDonald; archivist, M. Albini Quesnel; secretary, the Rev. Father I. Gauthier. At the first meeting, M. Albini Quesnel gave a lecture on the "Rivière à la Graise" which flows through the town of Rigaud. He spoke of the origin of the name "Rivière à la Graise", its geographical situation, and the advantages it furnishes to industry and commerce. (I. GAUTHIER)

*La Société Historique de Saguenay* at Chicoutimi has published as number 1 of its publications, a series of eight lectures given over the radio in March and April, 1934, by the Abbé Victor Tremblay on *Le temps de Jacques Cartier*. The book is reviewed on page 448.

*La Société Historique d'Ottawa*. At its first meeting of the 1934-5 term, on October 10, the society elected the following officers: president, Louis Charbonneau; vice-presidents, R. P. Simard and F. J. Audet; secretary, R. P. Thivierge; treasurer, Lucien Brault; directors, R. P. Charland, R. P. Taché, Gustave Lanctot, R. P. Bériault, R. P. St. Denis, and Pierre Daviault. Father Charland read an interesting paper on "The theory of the hero in history". A vote of thanks was passed to



Dr. Gustave Lanctot, the retiring president, for his activities in favour of the society during its first year of existence.

The *Waterloo Historical Society* held its twenty-second annual meeting on Friday, October 19. Addresses were given on "The trek of the pioneer settlers from Pennsylvania to Waterloo Township, 1800-1805", "Waterloo Township from 1800 to 1825", "The leaven of progress", "The Huron Road", "The Saengerfest of 1875", by D. N. Panabaker, I. C. Bricker, W. V. Uttley, and W. H. Breithaupt. These papers will be printed in the society's annual report. In the museum in the public library building, Kitchener, the society has on exhibition a fairly complete collection of early county newspaper files, old county maps, books, and documents, pictures and photographs of the pioneers, Indian objects and other historical material pertaining to the county and district. The museum is open to the public on Saturdays, from three to five p.m. One of the most valuable features of the society's work is the collection of current county newspapers which are bound from year to year. President, D. N. Panabaker; vice-president, H. W. Brown; secretary-treasurer, P. Fisher, Kitchener, Ontario.

The *Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa* held a very interesting pioneer exhibition from October 3 to 17, at the Bytown Museum. The exhibition, which was opened by Dr. R. Tait McKenzie, and which was attended by many hundreds of people, created much interest in Ottawa, and in the Ottawa valley and outlying districts. A particularly interesting collection of early farm implements was on loan as well as household articles of pioneer days, pottery, books and many interesting manuscripts, samples of wrought iron work, and early medical instruments. President, Mrs. J. Lorn McDougall.

The *Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto* this season furnished a room at the Old Fort which is open to the public until winter from eleven a.m. to four p.m. daily. Colborne Lodge is also open every afternoon except Sunday and holidays from two to five o'clock. This year the annual outing was held at Georgetown where the society placed a bronze tablet on the first home built in Halton County, now standing on the estate of J. A. Willoughby, Esq., who presented it to the society. Mr. Claude Pascoe also presented the society with his painting of the house in its present situation, and Mrs. Emerson Biggar with a splendid painting of Fort York. Both these pictures may be seen in the society's room at the Old Fort. President, Miss Carolyn Roberts; vice-presidents, Mrs. Wm. Jarvis, Mrs. Charles Krick, Mrs. J. W. Hodgins; treasurer, Mrs. W. A. Parks; recording secretary and curator, Mrs. J. Seymour Corley; corresponding secretary, Mrs. F. M. Fairbrother, 98 Collegeview Heights, Toronto.

*York and Sunbury Historical Society.* On August 19, 1934, a memorial cross was unveiled in the old cemetery at "Elmcroft", Fredericton, N.B., in honour of the United Empire Loyalists and other early settlers.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a later and more extended review.)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

BENTWICH, NORMAN. *An imperial link?* (Fortnightly, Oct., 1934, 407-15). Deals with some questions and problems in connection with appeals to the judicial committee of the privy council.

*British agriculture and empire trade* (Round table, no. 96, Sept., 1934, 746-70). A discussion of the trend of British agriculture, and of British agricultural policy in its relation to the structure of the British Commonwealth.

*The British year book of international law, 1934*. Fifteenth year of issue. (Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.) London: Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. vi, 240. (\$4.75) The articles contained in the volume, which relate to Canada, are listed separately in this bibliography.

ELIBANK, Viscount. *Empire air defence* (United empire, XXV (9), Sept., 1934, 510-2).

FAY, C. R. *Imperial economy and its place in the formation of economic doctrine, 1600-1932*. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1934. Pp. 151. (\$1.75) Reviewed on page 415.

FULLER, J. F. C. *Empire unity and defence*. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith Ltd. [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders.] 1934. Pp. 300. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

HATTERSLEY, ALAN F. *South Africa, 1652-1933*. (The Home university library.) London: Thornton Butterworth. 1933. Pp. 256. (2s. 6d.) To be reviewed later.

LATTIMER, J. E. *The Ottawa trade agreements* (Journal of farm economics, XVI (4), Oct., 1934, 565-81). The writer emphasizes the necessity for the trade agreements negotiated at Ottawa in 1932 and points out some significant results particularly in regard to agriculture.

LOTHIAN, Marquess of. *The place of Britain in the collective system* (International affairs, XIII (5), Sept.-Oct., 1934, 622-50).

MELBOURNE, A. C. V. *William Charles Wentworth*. (The John Murtagh Macrossan lectures, 1932.) Brisbane, Australia: Biggs and Company. 1934. Pp. 114. To be reviewed later.

NAUDIN, PAUL. *Incertitude des résultats d'Ottawa* (Europe nouvelle, 23 juin, 1934, 640-3).

*Navies and the Pacific* (Round table, no. 96, Sept., 1934, 693-716). Discusses the Washington treaties and events in the Far East since the Washington Naval Conference of 1921-2, the naval problem, etc., and the policy of the British Commonwealth in relation to these questions.

PRYDE-HUGHES, J. E. *Das Vertragswerk von Ottawa* (Geopolitik, juin, 1934, 367-75).

RIDGES, EDWARD WAVELL. *Constitutional law of England*. Fifth edition. Revised and largely re-written by A. BERRIDALE KEITH. London: Stevens and Sons. 1934. Pp. xlviii, 672. (25s.) To be reviewed later.

SALANT, E. *An outline of the constitutional laws of the British Empire with appendices of statutes*. London: Sweet and Maxwell. 1934. Pp. viii, 239. (7s. 6d.) To be reviewed later.

*United empire*, XXV (9), Sept., 1934, is devoted to the addresses which were given at the Royal Empire Society's summer school at Oxford. Besides the lectures which are listed separately in this bibliography, the number contains summaries of the following addresses: Sir FRANCIS WYLIE, "Oxford and the empire"; JOHN BUCHAN, "The conception of empire"; the Rt. Hon. Sir HALFORD MACKINDER, "The empire and the world"; M. NEVILLE KEARNEY, "Films and the empire"; ANDRÉ SIEGFRIED, "A foreigner's view of the empire"; JOHN COATMAN, "London and the empire"; the Rt. Hon. WALTER ELLIOT, "Agriculture and the new age"; MALCOLM MACDONALD, "Migration"; the Rt. Hon. Sir PHILIP CUNLIFFE-LISTER, "Empire economic policy", etc.

WARNER, KENNETH O. *An introduction to some problems of Australian federalism: A study of the relationship between the Australian states and the commonwealth with special reference to finance.* (University of Washington publications in the social sciences, IX, August, 1933.) Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press. 1933. Pp. xi, 312. To be reviewed later.

WYNNE, R. V. *A supreme senate and a strong empire.* London: P. S. King and Sons. 1934. Pp. ix, 76. (4s. 6d.)

## II. HISTORY OF CANADA

### (1) General History

BINGAY, JAMES. *A history of Canada for high schools.* Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1934. Pp. 576. (\$1.75) Reviewed on page 433.

De WITT, NORMAN. *A brief world history.* Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. xii, 832. (\$2.50) This volume gives a brief survey of world history from the beginning down to the end of 1933. It has been planned primarily for secondary schools and the lay reader, and in arrangement and style it is clear and straightforward. An analysis of topics is given at the beginning of each chapter, study helps for each chapter, in the form of questions and references, are provided at the end of the volume, and there is a full index. A large number of excellent coloured maps and of maps in black and white are included, and the illustrations have been carefully selected and are very numerous. There are brief sections on New France, the American Revolution, and the beginnings of Canada. The volume will be of very great value to teachers and pupils and a handy book of reference for scholars.

HARLOW, VICTOR E. *Oklahoma.* Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Co. 1934. Pp. xii, 434. A text-book which places special emphasis on the part played in the history of the state by the general attitude of the government of the United States toward the Indian problem. There are chapters on the French in the Mississippi valley, 1672-87, and on Louisiana under French control. There is no index.

LANCOT, GUSTAVE. *Le Canada d'hier et d'aujourd'hui.* (Documents historiques.) Montréal: Éditions Albert Lévesque. 1934. Pp. 300. To be reviewed later.

LASKER, BRUNO and HOLLAND, W. L. (eds.). *Problems of the Pacific, 1933: Economic conflict and control.* (Proceedings of the Fifth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Banff, Canada, 14-26 August, 1933.) Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. xvi, 490. (\$6.25) To be reviewed later.

MACKAY, ROBERT A. *Newfoundland reverts to the status of a colony* (American political science review, XXVIII (5), Oct., 1934, 895-900).

MERRIMAN, ROGER BIGELOW. *The rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New.* IV: *Philip the Prudent.* New York: The Macmillan Company. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada.] 1934. Pp. xxiv, 780. (\$9.00) Chapter xxxiii in this final volume of Professor Merriman's *Rise of the Spanish Empire* tells the story of Spain in the New World during the reign of Philip II (1556-98). A careful account is given of the Spaniards in Florida, in South America, in the Indies, the Philippines, etc. There is a very full bibliographical note at the end of the chapter.

- PIERCE, LORNE (ed.). *Our dominion: Stories of character and incident*. I: *Stories of pathfinders*. II: *Stories of adventure*. (The Ryerson Canadian history readers.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. (\$2.00 each) The Ryerson Canadian history readers, which have been noted separately in the bibliographies of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, are now being published in a collected edition, volumes I and II of which are already out. The volumes will run to approximately 310 pages each.
- ROZ, FIRMIN. *La France au Canada*. I: *La découverte*. II: *Le "miracle canadien"* (Revue des deux mondes, 1 août, 1934, 516-35; 15 août, 1934, 888-911). A résumé of the history of Canada with special reference to the French Canadians, and with reflections on the survival of the French race in Canada.
- STRANG, HERBERT (ed.). *Early days in Canada: Stories of discovery and conquest*. London: Oxford University Press. Reprinted 1934. Pp. vii, 320. (75 cents) This book belongs to "The pioneer series" edited by Herbert Strang, the object of which is to set forth for boys and girls the story of discovery, exploration, and settlement in the dominions. It is composed of passages from the writings of historians, travellers, and biographers (Parkman, Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Radisson's *Voyages*, etc., exact references not being given), linked together by notes and summaries. There are a number of coloured illustrations.
- WELLMAN, PAUL I. *Death on the prairie: The thirty years' struggle for the western plains*. New York: The Macmillan Company. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada.] 1934. Pp. xii, 298. (\$3.50) This is a readable popular account of the period between 1862 and 1892 when the Indians and the white men fought for the possession of the western plains, i.e., south of the Canadian border. The story of Sitting Bull is told dramatically. The book has a bibliography and an index.
- (2) **New France**
- ADAMS, ARTHUR T. *The Radisson problem* (Minnesota history, XV (3), Sept., 1934, 317-27). A contribution in answer to the article by A. M. Goodrich and Miss Grace Lee Nute which appeared in *Minnesota history*, Sept., 1932.
- BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Cartier inspired Rabelais* (Canadian geographical journal, IX (3), Sept., 1934, 113-25). Comparisons between Cartier's *Brief récit* and the fantastic navigations described in *Pantagruel*.
- CLARK, CHARLES UPSON (comp. and ed.). *Voyageurs, robes noires, et coureurs de bois: Stories from the French exploration of North America*. New York: Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Columbia University. 1934. Pp. xiv, 391. (\$2.75) In this collection of French lessons and readings are used a few of the stories of the early French explorers taken from the *Jesuit relations* (Thwaites's edition) and from Margry's collections of documents in the archives of the French ministry of marine. The author has very cleverly killed two birds with one stone by providing the student of French with a selection of easy narratives which give him a vivid and stimulating introduction to the history of the east and centre of the continent. The book is divided into topical sections, there are paragraph headings in English, and exact references, names, and dates are given in each case. There are also excellent historical and linguistic notes, a bibliography of recent books, and an index.
- GÉRIN, LÉON. *Jacques Cartier, notre découvreur* (List of officers and members and minutes of proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, 1934, appendix A, xlvii-lxvi). The presidential address to the society, which shows the European background of Cartier and his discoveries.
- GOSSELIN, AMÉDÉE. *Le chevalier d'Aux* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (11), nov., 1934, 676-80). Additional notes to M. Massicotte's research into the history of a native of seventeenth-century Montreal.
- L., J. L. *Cartier's discovery of Canada: Fourth centenary, 1534-1934* (Quebec, IX (6), July, 1934, 82-8). The story of Cartier and an examination of the circumstances and results of his explorations.

- MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Les cas de fécondité extraordinaire* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (9), sept., 1934, 567-70). Some items of information concerning twins and triplets in New France.
- *Le chevalier d'Au, ambassadeur* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (9), sept., 1934, 550-1). Information from LaHontan concerning a native of seventeenth-century Montreal.
- *Les "coroners" du XVII<sup>e</sup> et du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (10), oct., 1934, 617-20). Notes on coroners, and the procedure in New France in cases of violent death.
- *Le meurtre de Jean Aubuchon* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (11), nov., 1934, 681-3). Some facts about the life of Jean Aubuchon and the circumstances of his murder in Montreal in 1685.
- Paroles des sauvages à M. de Subercase (1708)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (9), sept., 1934, 575-6). Transcribed from the Archives of the Province of Quebec.
- POETKER, ALBERT H. *Jean Nicolet* (Michigan history magazine, XVIII (3-4), summer and autumn, 1934, 305-15). An address delivered at Mackinac Island on July 7, at the Jean Nicolet tercentennial, in which are outlined the character and exploits of Nicolet.
- RICE, HOWARD C. *Le cultivateur américain: Étude sur l'oeuvre de Saint-John de Crevecoeur*. Thèse pour le doctorat soutenue devant la Faculté des Lettres. (Tome 87 de la Bibliothèque de la revue de littérature comparée.) Paris: Champion. 1933. Pp. vi, 264. (42 fr.) A history of Crevecoeur, who served under Montcalm, and of his letters from an American farmer.
- RIDDELL, WILLIAM RENWICK. *Indian episodes of early Michigan* (Michigan history magazine, XVIII (3-4), summer and autumn, 1934, 195-207). Contains a story taken from *Collection de manuscrits contenant lettres, mémoires, et autres documents historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, published by the Archives of Quebec, dealing with the defeat of the Foxes (Renards, Outagamies) at Detroit in 1712; a report of the last Indian council of the French at Detroit in 1760; and a letter from Colonel R. G. England, commandant at Detroit, to Simcoe, dated Detroit, December 29, 1792.
- ROWLAND, DUNBAR (coll. and ed.) and SANDERS, ALBERT GODFREY (trans.). *Mississippi provincial archives, 1701-1729: French dominion*. Vol. II. Jackson, Mississippi: Press of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. 1929. Pp. 694. This is the second volume of a series relative to the colonization, development, and government of the French Province of Louisiana. The first volume, published in 1927, dealt with French-English-Indian relations and was reviewed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, IX, 1928, 171. This volume contains new and unpublished material concerning the industry, commerce, agriculture, education, and religion of the colonists from 1701 to 1729. The documents printed in the volume are translations of transcripts, in the Mississippi department of archives and history, of originals in the ministry of the marine, Paris (Archives du ministère des colonies, series C 13, Correspondance générale Louisiane).
- ROY, PIERRE GEORGES. *Inventaire des jugements et délibérations du conseil supérieur de la Nouvelle-France de 1717 à 1760*. (Archives de la Province de Québec.) Vols. IV and V. Beauceville: L'Éclaireur, Limitée. 1934. Pp. 304; 304. (\$2.00 each) To be reviewed later.
- TREMBLAY, VICTOR. *Le temps de Jacques Cartier: Causeries historiques*. (Publications de la Société Historique du Saguenay, no. 1.) Chicoutimi: Imprimerie du Progrès du Saguenay. 1934. Pp. 131. Though the author is a strong determinist, he has produced for the general public a simple, but interesting account of Cartier's voyages to Canada. He has covered the ground extensively, beginning with a geological survey and a description of the first natives of Canada. No doubt he was not critical enough, when accepting as historical certain pre-Columbian voyages to Dakota and Manitoba, and the presence of French fishermen on the Great Bank

round 1450 (pp. 10, 11). But he has well analysed the ordinary information at hand and traced a good portrait of Cartier. He has naturally but unreliably over-emphasized the religious side of Cartier's enterprise, refusing with horror to recognize him in his historical part of gold-pro prospector. (GUSTAVE LANCTOT)

WEBSTER, JOHN CLARENCE. *Acadia at the end of the seventeenth century: Letters, journals and memoirs of Joseph Robineau de Villebon, commandant in Acadia, 1690-1700 and other contemporary documents.* (Monographic series no. 1.) Saint John, N.B.: The New Brunswick Museum. Printed by the Tribune Press, Sackville, N.B. 1934. Pp. xiv, 232. To be reviewed later.

**(3) British North America before 1867**

ADAMS, JOHN ARTHUR. *The Indian trader of the upper Ohio valley* (Western Pennsylvania historical magazine, XVII (3), Sept., 1934, 163-74). An analysis of the general characteristics of the fur-trader of the upper Ohio valley.

[BOWEN, ASHLEY.] *Journal kept on the Quebec expedition, 1759, by Ashley Bowen of Marblehead* (Essex Institute historical collections, LXX (3), July, 1934, 227-66). A day-by-day log of the ship *Pembroke* from April 12 to November 11, 1759. From the original in the possession of the Marblehead Historical Society.

BOYLEN, J. C. *Simcoe's romantic years* (Canadian magazine, Oct., 1934, 13, 35). Sidelights on John Graves Simcoe's life on Long Island between 1778 and 1780, when he was a young commander of the Queen's Rangers.

BUCK, SOLON J. (ed.). *The importance of the upper Ohio country in 1758—a contemporary view* (Western Pennsylvania historical magazine, XVII (2), June, 1934, 123-5). An editorial taken from the *Newport* (Rhode Island) *Mercury* of December 26, 1758, concerning the importance of the region around Fort Duquesne and the desirability of founding a new colony there.

CAUGHEY, JOHN WALTON. *Bernardo de Gálvez in Louisiana, 1776-1783.* (Publications of the University of California at Los Angeles in social sciences, IV, 1934.) Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press. 1934. Pp. xii, 290. (\$3.50 cloth; \$3.00 paper). Throws light on Spanish Louisiana and its relation to the American Revolution. Of interest to students of Canadian history is the chapter on "The struggle for the Mississippi", including the plans for a British attack on New Orleans which called for an expedition down the Mississippi from Canada. There is a very extensive bibliography of manuscript and printed material.

COMPLIN, MARGARET. *The warden of the plains* (Canadian geographical journal, IX (2), Aug., 1934, 73-82). A biographical account of Cuthbert James Grant (1796-1854), showing his place in the history of the Red River and the North West Company.

DAVIES, HANBURY. *The American Loyalists and Australia: Matra's proposal* (United empire, XXV (8), Aug., 1934, 470-4). The story of the proposal of James Mario Matra in 1783 in which he urged that the Loyalists should be compensated for their losses by being established as free settlers in the lands recently discovered by Captain Cook in the southern hemisphere.

DOWNES, RANDOLPH C. *Indian war on the upper Ohio 1779-1782* (Western Pennsylvania historical magazine, XVII (2), June, 1934, 93-115). The purpose of this article is to make it plain that the Indians of the Old North-west had, by the end of 1782, successfully defended their hunting grounds from the invasions of the armies of the United States.

FLICK, ALEXANDER C. (ed.). *History of the State of New York. V: Conquering the wilderness. VI: The age of reform.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1934. Pp. xii, 381; xiv, 390. (\$50.00, set of 10 volumes) To be reviewed later.

— *The Loyalists (History of the State of New York, edited by ALEXANDER C. FLICK, III, 1933, 325-63).* An account of the Loyalists in New York, with a select bibliography.

- FRENCH, ALLEN. *The first year of the American Revolution*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1934. Pp. xii, 795. (\$6.00) To be reviewed later.
- GRAHAM, LOUIS E. *Fort McIntosh* (Western Pennsylvania historical magazine, XV (2), May, 1932, 93-119). A paper on the first military post of the United States established upon the "Indian" side of the Ohio River (erected in 1778), relating its history and the part which it played in the War of the American Revolution.
- GREEN, JAMES A. *General John Graves Simcoe—the Canadian governor who attempted to make Ohio a part of Canada* (Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly, XLIII (1), Jan., 1934, 35-60). A paper on Simcoe's services in Canada.
- GUY, FRANCIS SHAW. *Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan: A study in American historiography (1797-1880)*. A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the graduate school of arts and sciences of the Catholic University of America in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy. (The Catholic University of America studies in American church history, XVIII.) Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America. 1934. Pp. x, 93. To be reviewed later.
- HAMILTON, Mrs. KENT (trans.). *Report of the French commissioners to the French government on American relations in 1794 with mention of Wayne's campaign* (Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio, bulletin, VI (3), July, 1934, [1-3]).
- HAND, AUGUSTUS N. *Local incidents of the Papineau rebellion* (New York history, XV (4), Oct., 1934, 376-87). A description of incidents in Essex County, New York, relating to the Papineau rebellion.
- HEARNshaw, F. J. C. (ed.). *The social and political ideas of some representative thinkers of the Victorian age*. (King's College lectures on social and political ideas, 1931-32). London: Harrap. 1933. Pp. 271. (8s. 6d.) Contains an article on the granting of self-government to the dominions.
- HIBBERT, WILFRID. *The recently discovered pictorial map of Fort Meigs and environs* (Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio, bulletin, VI (4), Oct., 1934, [1-4]). A map prepared by Captain William Seabee of the Kentucky militia, who served in the siege of Fort Meigs, has been received by the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio. It explains some details in the two sieges of Fort Meigs in 1813.
- HOBERG, WALTER R. *Early history of Colonel Alexander McKee* (Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography, Jan., 1934). An article which is concerned with McKee's activities in the vicinity of Fort Pitt during the early years of the American Revolution and his flight to the British at Detroit in 1778.
- HUMPHREY, HELEN F. *The identity of Gladwin's informant* (Mississippi valley historical review, XXI (2), Sept., 1934, 147-62). An examination of the various attempts to establish the identity of the person who told Major Henry Gladwin of Pontiac's plans and thus saved Detroit in 1763.
- LARPENTEUR, CHARLES. *Forty years a fur trader on the Upper Missouri*. Historical introduction by MILO MILTON QUAIFFE. Chicago: The Lakeside Press. 1933. Pp. 388. Covers the period 1833 to 1872 and relates to the fur-trade of the upper Missouri River. The original manuscript is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.
- MAYER JOSEPHINE JAMES. *Major Robert Rogers, trader* (New York history, XV (4), Oct., 1934, 388-97). A description of Robert Rogers's and his partners' unsuccessful trading ventures in the north-west country, 1760-73.
- MERK, FREDERICK. *The British corn crisis and the Oregon Treaty* (Agricultural history, VIII (3), July, 1934, 95-123). An examination of the thesis that the harvest shortage in England and the repeal of the corn laws were important causative factors in the Oregon settlement.
- *British government propaganda and the Oregon Treaty* (American historical review, XL (1), Oct., 1934, 38-62). An account of Lord Aberdeen's campaign in the British press to prepare the British public for a treaty of concession and the peace of 1846.



- MOOD, FULMER (ed.). *A Bostonian sends news of the French in the Mississippi valley, 1676* (Mississippi valley historical review, XXI (2), Sept., 1934, 255-6). A brief item, dated January 23, 1676, by Richard Wharton of Boston, merchant and land-owner, transcribed from the Boyle MSS. in the library of the Royal Society, London.
- NEWCOMB, JOSIAH T. *New light on Jay's Treaty* (American journal of international law, XXVIII (4), Oct., 1934, 685-92). New light is thrown on Jay's Treaty by the text of a secret instruction to British commanders, dated April 25, 1795, and found in the Public Record Office (F.O., 115: 4).
- NORTON, A. PHILIP. *At the end of H.B. steel* (Canadian National Railways magazine, XX (11), Nov., 1934, 6). A brief history of Fort Prince of Wales.
- PRATT, FLETCHER. *The heroic years: Fourteen years of the republic, 1801-1815*. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. 1934. Pp. 352. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.
- PRATT, JULIUS W. *The War of 1812* (History of the State of New York, edited by ALEXANDER C. FLICK, V, 1934, 219-53). An account of the War of 1812 with special reference to events in the State of New York. With a select bibliography.
- PRENTISS, HERVEY PUTNAM. *Timothy Pickering and the War of 1812* (Essex Institute historical collections, LXX (2), April, 1934, 105-46). Light is thrown on opinion in Massachusetts toward the War of 1812.
- [PROCTER, JONATHAN.] *Diary kept at Louisburg, 1759-1760, by Jonathan Procter of Danvers* (Essex Institute historical collections, LXX (1), Jan., 1934, 31-57). This account of the activities at Louisburg is the day-by-day story of a youth of nineteen. From the original in the possession of the Peabody Museum of Salem.
- ROBITAILLE, GEORGE. *Washington et Jumonville*. Montréal: Le Devoir. 1933. Pp. 67. (60 cents) Reviewed on page 425.
- WRAY, O. R. *In the footsteps of Samuel Hearne* (Canadian geographical journal, IX (3), Sept., 1934, 139-46). An attempt to identify the lakes in the district north of Great Slave Lake, as mapped and described in Hearne's journal, with the more accurately located lakes of present-day maps.
- (4) The Dominion of Canada**
- ANGUS, H. F. *Canada and a foreign policy* (Dalhousie review, XIV (3), Oct., 1934, 265-75). The writer begins by assuming that a foreign policy is not a necessity for Canada, and develops this assumption "by suggesting that Canada's present position is more favourable to her immediate interests than membership in a peace system aiming at ideals of international justice which might be understood in a sense destructive of Canada's proprietary rights".
- BREBNER, J. BARTLET. *Canada's growing unrest* (Current history, Oct., 1934, 84-7). Deals with the Stevens commission, drought risks in Canada, constitutional revision, and the economic scene.
- Canada: Conservatism on the brink* (Round table, no. 96, Sept., 1934, 868-78). A review of recent political events and tendencies.
- GOLDENBERG, H. C. *Social and economic problems in Canadian federalism* (Canadian bar review, XII (7), Sept., 1934, 422-30). The subject of a paper read before the Canadian Political Science Association, May, 1934.
- GÜTSCH-TREVELYAN, KATHARINE. *Unharboured heaths*. London: Selwyn and Blount. 1934. Pp. 222. (8s. 6d.) A diary of adventures across Canada, with some rather distorted impressions and descriptions of people and places.

- HEIGHINGTON, WILFRID. *Whereas and whatnot*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. vii, 152. (\$1.50). Mr. Heighington has collected in this slight volume a number of casual pieces of prose and verse. They are chiefly the product of those minor irritations whose barbs are calculated to irritate a rising young lawyer and politician. He combats the idea that we are over-governed. He breaks a slender lance in defence of titles. He delves into law and history to prove with many citations that the provincial legislature is a true parliament and its members entitled to use the dignified letters "M.P." after their names. The essays are urbane and unpretentious, and are calculated to give satisfaction to his colleagues and unlikely to provide ammunition to his opponents—unless they tear him for his bad verses. (EDGAR MCINNIS)
- JONASSON, JONES A. *The background of the Riel Rebellions* (Pacific historical review, III (3), Sept., 1934, 270-9). An examination of the clashes of forces, persons, and interests behind the Riel Rebellions.
- KENNEDY, W. P. M. *Administrative law in Canada* (Juridical review, XLVI, Sept., 1934, 203-30). The first general survey of administrative law in Canada. The author concludes that the subject must not be approached in the light of legal traditions but from the point of view of effective social functioning of law.
- *The constitution in the melting pot* (South African law times, III (8), Aug., 1934, 157-9). Raises the question of the need for constitutional revision in Canada.
- *Crisis in the Canadian constitution* (Round table, no. 96, Sept., 1934, 803-19). A discussion of changes in the law and custom of the Canadian constitution under the headings: "The governor-general", "The Statute of Westminster", "Federal and provincial powers", "The grant of honours", "Law versus economics".
- *Dominion honours* (South African law times, III (9), Sept., 1934, 182-3). A consideration of the question of titles and of finance and political powers in Canada.
- *The Far East: The Canadian issues of war and peace* (South African law times, III (7), July, 1934, 139-40). A discussion of the implications of the present constitution of the commonwealth in connection with Canada and neutrality.
- LÉVESQUE, ALBERT. *La nation canadienne-française*. Montréal: Editions Albert Lévesque. 1934. Pp. 160. The book is divided into three parts: "L'existence nationale"; "Les droits nationaux"; "Les devoirs nationaux".
- List of officers and members and minutes of proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, 1934.* (From the transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, XXVIII, 1934.) Ottawa: Printed for the Royal Society of Canada. 1934. Pp. 19, cxxiv.
- MACKENZIE, NORMAN. *Canadian-American relations* (Canadian bar review, XII (8), Oct., 1934, 479-90). A consideration of Canadian-American relations, with special reference to foreign affairs, the Chicago water diversion, the St. Lawrence Waterways, and Canada's export trade.
- *Citizenship in Canada* (British year book of international law, Oxford Press, 1934, 159-61). An indication of some of the difficulties surrounding the question of "Canadian citizenship".
- *Ten Jack Horners sit in corners: Who gets the tariff plums?* (Canadian comment, III (9), Sept., 1934, 5-7). Discusses the grievances of the Maritime Provinces and British Columbia in the Canadian federation.
- ROGERS, NORMAN MCL. *A crisis of federal finance* (Canadian forum, XV (170), Nov., 1934, 50-4). An historical analysis of the weaknesses in the financial arrangements between the dominion and the provinces.
- ROWELL, N. W. *Our heritage in the civil and the common law* (Canadian bar review, XII (7), Sept., 1934, 393-405). The presidential address, dealing with the French civil law and the English common law in Canada, delivered at the annual meeting of the Canadian Bar Association held in Montreal, September 5-7, 1934.

SANDWELL, B. K. *Young men and politics* (Queen's quarterly, XLI (3), autumn, 1934, 414-25). A survey of present political trends in the dominion.

SOLLOWAY, I. W. C. *Canada's destiny*. Toronto: Political and Economic Publishing Company. 1934. Pp. 113. (50 cents)

#### (5) *Canada's Part in the Great War*

(Contributed by Professor W. B. Kerr.)

*The British Columbia veteran*. Vancouver, B.C.

*The Canadian gazette*. London: Gresham House, Old Broad Street. This weekly journal published during the war a great deal of material relating to the C.E.F.: letters and narratives by soldiers, tales of escaped prisoners, reports of correspondents, official citations, lists of honours and awards. In this respect the contents resemble those of the magazine *Canada*.

[CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS.] *Canada's national railways: Their part in the war*. Ottawa. 1922.

[FIFTH BATTALION ASSOCIATION, SASKATOON BRANCH.] *Year book, Fifth Canadian Battalion, Western Cavalry*. Saskatoon. 1930. Chiefly a volume of statistics; a list of the members who received awards and decorations, a summary of casualties, a nominal roll of survivors, a reprint of certain messages of congratulation from high authorities, and a short account of the action at Hill 60 on April 24, 1916.

GODENRATH, P. F. *Lest we forget*. Ottawa: The author. 1933. An account of the collections of war-paintings, etchings, and sculpture in Ottawa with a plea for an adequate building in which to place these. Illustrated by fifty-odd well-selected reproductions.

MILLAR, W. C. *From Thunder Bay through Ypres with the fighting 52nd*. Fort William(?): N.p. 1918. This book contains reminiscences of the experiences of Private Millar (a scout) and of his battalion, the 52nd, from the date of entraining at Gresley Park camp until mid-summer of 1917 when the writer was wounded out. He includes rather good descriptions of French warfare at St. Eloi, Maple Copse, Hooge, and Sanctuary Wood. Some place-names are misspelled; and on page 13 "the first division of Canadians" should be "the 2nd Canadian division" (at St. Eloi). There are 21 chapters in all and two illustrations.

SCOTT, FREDERICK GEORGE. *The Great War as I saw it*. Second and enlarged edition, Vancouver: The Clarke and Stuart Company. Toronto: Thomas Allen. 1934. Pp. 347. (\$2.00)

### III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

#### (1) *The Maritime Provinces*

DOERFLINGER, WILLIAM. *Down north in a cargo schooner* (Canadian geographical journal, IX (2), Aug., 1934, 59-72). A description of life aboard a cargo schooner of the Maritime Provinces.

SAUNDERS, S. A. *Maritime Provinces and reciprocity* (Dalhousie review, XIV (3), Oct., 1934, 355-71). An examination, in a summary of factual material and statistics, of the traditional belief that the Maritime Provinces benefited greatly from free access to the American market under the terms of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854.

THOMPSON, A. AUDLEY. *The tradition and progress of Halifax* (Municipal review of Canada, XXX (7-8), Aug., 1934, 37-40).

#### (2) *The Province of Quebec*

AUDET, FRANCIS J. *Le comté de Maskinongé (1853-1863): Notes historiques, statistiques et biographiques*. (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 16.) Les Trois-Rivières: Le Bien Public. 1934. Pp. 51. Reviewed on page 430.

- AUDET, FRANCIS J. *Les députés de Saint-Maurice (1808-1838) et de Champlain (1830-1838)*. (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 12.) Les Trois-Rivières: Le Bien Public. 1934. Pp. 78. Reviewed on page 430.
- *Les députés des Trois-Rivières, 1808-1838*. (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 11.) Les Trois-Rivières: Le Bien Public. 1934. Pp. 76. Reviewed on page 430.
- Centenaire de la Paroisse de Saint-Isidore, Comté de Laprairie, 19 août 1934. Pp. 64. An attractive, illustrated souvenir pamphlet prepared by the committee which organized the centenary fête of Saint Isidore Parish in the Province of Quebec. Some of the articles of particular interest in the pamphlet are: "St-Isidore et ses origines", "La vieille génération de chez-nous", "Commission scolaire de la Paroisse St-Isidore", by M. AUGUSTE BOYER; "Préhistoire de St-Isidore" by the Rev. ELISÉE CHOQUET; "St-Isidore et son histoire politique" (pp. 32-41) by M. JEAN JACQUES LEFEBVRE of the Archives of the superior court at Montreal; and "Aperçu général de l'agriculture dans la Paroisse de St-Isidore depuis sa fondation" by M. G. TOUPIN (pp. 46-52).
- Enquête sur l'administration de la justice dans la seigneurie de Beaupré (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (10), oct., 1934, 624-6). From the *Jugements et délibérations du conseil supérieur*, Archives of the Province of Quebec.
- FORBIN, VICTOR. *Petits tableaux de la vie canadienne* (Revue des deux mondes, 1 oct., 1934, 686-97). Informal impressions of the Province of Quebec, in the maple-sugar season.
- GALE GEORGE. *Cul de Sac, Quebec* (Quebec, IX (5), June, 1934, 78-9). A history of a locality in Quebec city.
- *Quebec lower town* (Quebec, IX (4), May, 1934, 59-61).
- GÉRIN, LÉON. *La paroisse canadienne-française sur la rive nord du lac Saint-Pierre* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, 20ème année, no. 79, sept., 1934, 225-43). M. Gérin continues his interesting analysis of rural family life in French Canada, dealing in this article with Saint Justin, P.Q.
- Inventaire des registres de l'état civil pour le district judiciaire d'Abitibi, à Amos (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (10), oct., 1934, 621).
- LARIVIÈRE, ROMÉO. *Le port des Trois-Rivières* (Le nouvelliste, Three Rivers, July 28, 1934, 18, 20). Notes on its history, development, and administration.
- LEMIEUX, L. J. *Glimpses of Quebec: From the foundation of Quebec city to the present time* (Quebec, IX (7), Aug., 1934, 102-8). A short sketch of the principal historical events which have taken place in Quebec since Cartier's days and a brief record of the evolution of the French-Canadian race in America.
- Le nouvelliste* of Three Rivers published on Saturday, July 28, 1934, a special number of 64 pages, attractively illustrated and decorated, to celebrate the tercentenary of the founding of the city. Besides a number of very interesting and valuable articles which are listed separately in this bibliography, notes on early Three Rivers by Isaac Weld and Louis Franquet have been collected and reprinted, the development and scope of several well-known industries and companies of Three Rivers are described, and there is a brief article on the city of Grand'Mere.
- La presse* of Montreal has published on Saturday, October 13, 1934, a special issue of 72 pages to commemorate its fiftieth anniversary. The number includes a history of the newspaper, and articles and editorials on the history of the Montreal street railway, the Montreal police, etc., on various business houses and manufactures of Montreal, on finance and banking, and on sport in the last fifty years. Of particular interest are the reminiscences of Senator RODOLPHE LEMIEUX; "Deux siècles après, 1734-1934" by M. E. Z. MASSICOTTE, being notes on the history of the corner of the city where *La presse* is now printed; and "Le vieux Québec" by MARIUS BARBEAU.

ROY, CHARLES-EUGÈNE et BRAULT, LUCIEN. *Gaspé depuis Cartier*. Québec: Au Moulin des Lettres. 1934. Pp. 233. (\$2.00) Reviewed on page 431.

*Les seigneuries de la famille de Lery* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (11), nov., 1934, 684-92). Notes on the history of the fiefs and seignories of Lery, Rigaud Vaudreuil, Gentilly, Sainte-Barbe de la Famine, Le Gardeur, and Perthuis.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. *Trois-Rivières d'autrefois*. Quatrième série. Études éparses et inédites de BENJAMIN SULTE compilées, annotées et publiées par GÉRARD MALCHELOSSE. (Mélanges historiques, vol. 21.) Montréal: G. Ducharme, Libraire-Éditeur, 995, rue Saint-Laurent. 1934. Pp. 96. Another instalment of Benjamin Sulte's articles. The present pamphlet is devoted to Three Rivers and it is worth noting that it includes seven sketches on English residents of the city of Lavolette. There is, as usual in Sulte's writings, an abundance of local and minor facts which afford interesting sidelights on men and times. (GUSTAVE LANCTOT)

SURVEYER, E. FABRE et AUDET, FRANCIS J. *Les députés de Saint-Maurice et de Buckinghamshire (1792 à 1808)*. (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 10.) Les Trois-Rivières: Imprimerie St. Joseph. 1934. Pp. 94. Reviewed on page 430.

*Les députés des Trois-Rivières (1792-1808)*. (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 9.) Les Trois-Rivières: Le Bien Public. 1933. Pp. 82. Reviewed on page 430.

TESSIER, ALBERT. *Les Trois-Rivières: Quatre siècles d'histoire, 1535-1935*. (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 17.) Les Trois-Rivières: Le Nouvelliste, éditeurs-imprimeurs. 1934. Pp. 67. To be reviewed later.

*Trois siècles d'histoire* (Le nouvelliste, Three Rivers, July 28, 1934, 3, 5, 7, 9. . . 53). A sketch of the history and development of Three Rivers including an outline of the forest and pulpwood industry.

*Trois-Rivières d'autrefois* (Le nouvelliste, Three Rivers, July 28, 1934, 16). Extracts from *Voyage de Canada en la Nouvelle-France* by Asseline de Ronual, 1662; the Baron de la Hontan in 1684; and a report of Levasseur in 1704.

### (3) The Province of Ontario

BURKHOLDER, L. J. *The early Mennonite settlements in Ontario* (Mennonite quarterly review, VIII (3), July, 1934, 103-22).

FRASER, ALEXANDER. *Twenty-second report of the department of public records and archives of Ontario, 1933*. Toronto: Printed and published by Herbert H. Ball, printer to the king's most excellent majesty. 1934. Pp. ix, 215. Reviewed on page 427.

POPHAM, EARLE C. *The Lake of the Woods* (Canadian geographical journal, IX (3), Sept., 1934, 157-64). A description, with illustrations, of the Lake of the Woods in the extreme western portion of Ontario.

*The Standard-freeholder* of Cornwall, Ontario, published on Friday, June 29, 1934, a special souvenir edition of 84 pages in celebration of Cornwall's centennial. The edition contains much valuable information on early days in Cornwall: the settlement of the United Empire Loyalists; the first school established in 1803 by Bishop Strachan; the early churches and societies; canal and river transportation, industries, and mails; lacrosse and hockey in the last century, etc. There are notes on Dundas County and on Morrisburg a hundred years ago, on the street names of Cornwall, and on the old public market, and there is a useful chronological history of Cornwall in the past half century.

WILLIAMS, M. Y. *Ontario's island county* (Canadian geographical journal, IX (4), Oct., 1934, 169-78). An historical sketch of Prince Edward County.

### (4) The Prairie Provinces

CHICANOT, E. L. *The passing of the harvester excursion* (Empire review, no. 404, Sept., 1934, 155-8). A description of the adventurous days of the harvester-excursion to the Canadian west.

ENGLAND, ROBERT. *The emergent west* (Queen's quarterly, XLI (3), autumn, 1934, 405-13). Some reflections on Ukrainian, Mennonite, Doukhobor, and Hutterite communities in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta.

HAMILTON, LOUIS und FREUND, RUDOLF. *Weizenwirtschaft und Agrarkrise in Westkanada* (Berichte über Landwirtschaft, Berlin, XIX (3), n.f., 1934, 411-41). In the first part of this article Mr. Hamilton surveys the general geographical and climatic condition in western Canada, the character and course of immigration and settlement and of land-holding and farming methods in relation to wheat-raising. He reaches the significant conclusion that the present economic conditions favour the settler of south-eastern European origin, people who have a truly peasant outlook and a low standard of living, so that they are tending to become the dominant element in the greater part of the farming region outside the machine-dominated dry lands. In the second part of the article Mr. Freund traces the position of wheat in Canadian economic life, Canada's place as a wheat-exporting country, and the development of her trade policy with respect to wheat during this century. Canada is tending towards a centralized control of wheat-production, he states. Moreover, the present system of imperial preferences will never solve her wheat problem so that she will be freed more and more to regulate this matter on the basis of the world market. (R. M. SAUNDERS)

HIGINBOTHAM, JOHN D. *When the west was young: Historical reminiscences of the early Canadian west*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1934. Pp. x, 328. (\$3.00; de luxe ed., \$4.00) A vivid volume of reminiscences which paints a convincing and entertaining picture of social life and customs in the pioneer days of the Canadian west. Mr. Higinbotham went from Ontario in 1884 to Fort MacLeod and moved to Lethbridge in 1885. He gives graphic accounts of the pioneer press, the lawyers, missionaries, and surgeons of the early west; of Inspector Francis J. Dickens, Sir Cecil Denny, the founder of Calgary, and Sam Steele (later Sir Sam Steele) of the Strathcona Horse. The book concludes with a description of the author's trip to the Mackenzie River in 1928.

INKSTER, COLIN. *Visits of "Overlanders" of 1859 and 1862 to Fort Garry* (Winnipeg free press, June 30, 1934). Visits of the overlanders of 1859 and 1862 on their way to the Fraser River gold-fields are described.

MCCLINTOCK, GRAY. *Itinerants of the timber lands*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1934. Pp. 286. (\$2.00) The life-history of two timberwolves in north-western Canada. The author has been a trapper, hunter, and explorer in the wilds of the North-west.

MUNDAY, ALBERT. *No other gods: A novel of Saskatchewan*. Boston: Meador Publishing Company. 1934. Pp. vii, 271. (\$2.00) A tale of Saskatchewan in the days of the covered wagon.

STREET, A. G. *Farmer's glory*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. xvii, 294. (\$2.00) This book is an autobiography which throws light on farming life in southern England and western Canada. Of particular interest to Canadian readers is the centre section, "A Canadian interlude", in which farming and pioneer life in western Canada is described and compared with agricultural conditions and work in England. The author came to Canada in 1911 and remained until the outbreak of war, and he gives a vivid account of his three years of farming, breaking soil, cutting timber, etc., near Barloe, about one hundred and fifty miles west of Winnipeg.

##### (5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

BOONE, LALLA ROOKH. *Vancouver on the Northwest Coast* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXV (3), Sept., 1934, 193-227). An evaluation of Vancouver's actual contribution to the survey of the North-west Coast, as well as that of the explorers who preceded him.

- HOWAY, F. W. *The ship Eliza at Hawaii in 1799* (Forty-second annual report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the year 1933, Honolulu, 1934, 103-13). Contains items of information of interest to students of the maritime history of the North-west Coast of America.
- MUNRO, J. B. *Mormon colonization scheme for Vancouver Island* (Washington historical quarterly, XXV (4), Oct., 1934, 278-85). From the *Millennial star* (an organ of the Church of the Latter-day Saints) of November 28, 1846 and March 1, 1847, are reprinted a petition from the Latter-day Saints in Great Britain for assistance in establishing a colony on Vancouver Island, addressed to Queen Victoria and the British parliament, and extracts dealing with the same subject.
- STOKES, JOHN F. G. *Honolulu and some new speculative phases of Hawaiian history* (Forty-second annual report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the year 1933, Honolulu, 1934, 40-102). Information about William Brown, commander of the ship *Butterworth*, about Vancouver, and about the plan to establish a British station in the Hawaiian Islands with a view to creating a monopoly of the fur-trade on the North-west Coast of America. Contains also an account of John Meares and the situation on the North-west Coast.
- TURTON, M. CONWAY. *Cassiar*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. x, 123. (\$2.00) To be reviewed later.
- (6) **North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions**
- JOHNSTON, V. KENNETH. *Canada's title to Hudson Bay and Hudson Strait (British year book of international law, Oxford Press, 1934, 1-20)*. A carefully documented statement of Canada's title to Hudson Bay and Strait.
- MIRSKY, JEANNETTE. *To the north! The story of Arctic exploration from earliest times to the present*. New York: The Viking Press. 1934. Pp. xx, 386. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.
- ROBERTSON, DOUGLAS S. *To the Arctic with the mounties*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. 309. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.
- SCOTT, J. M. *Notes on current polar expeditions* (Geographical journal, LXXXIV (3), Sept., 1934, 247-51). Includes notes on the plans for Mr. J. M. Wordie's expedition to Ellesmere Land and the islands of the Canadian Arctic; the British Ellesmere Land Expedition; and Martin Lindsay's expedition across the Greenland ice-cap.
- IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS**
- (1) **General**
- BATES, E. S. *Recovery, Canada's effort: A three-point program*. Montreal: Canadian Textile Journal Publishing Company. 1933. Pp. 83. (50 cents) A study of Canada's position in the current economic crisis and a programme for recovery based upon consideration of domestic economy. Public debts, money, prices, the wheat problem, the newsprint situation, etc., are discussed.
- CARTWRIGHT, STEVEN. *Legislation and economics in Canada* (Pacific affairs, VII (3), Sept., 1934, 292-6). A summary of recent federal enactments, including the provision for a central bank, the Natural Products Marketing Act, legislation for adjustment of farm debts, and the appointment of the parliamentary committee on price spreads and mass-buying.
- CASGRAIN, PHILIPPE. *La diffusion du communisme dans notre population d'origine étrangère* (Canada français, XXII (2), oct., 1934, 105-14).
- CLARK, Sir WILLIAM. *Canada's economic recovery* (United empire, XXV (11), Nov., 1934, 639-44).
- [THE CONSUMERS' GAS COMPANY OF TORONTO.] *Sixty years*. 1934. Pp. 23 (mimeographed). Reminiscences of William Armstrong of the Consumers' Gas Company and of Toronto and the company in 1874.



CRIPPS, Sir STAFFORD. *Socialism in Canada* (Political quarterly, V (3), July-Sept., 1934, 342-51).

FORSEY, E. A. *Dividends and the depression*. (League for Social Reconstruction pamphlet no. 1.) Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1934. Pp. 35. (25 cents) An analysis of dividends, interest, salaries, and wages during the depression, with the conclusion that the burden of depression falls on the wage-earners. An appendix of statistical tables contains detailed technical information on dividend- and payroll-figures.

GIRARD, JOS. *La goudronnerie de la Baie Saint-Paul* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (9), sept., 1934, 552-66). The conclusion of a history of the tar industry at Baie Saint Paul, P.Q., during the French régime.

HARTE, W. J. *Some evidence of trade between Exeter and Newfoundland up to 1600* (Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art, LXIV, 1932, 475-84). The tabulated results of a search in the exchequer miscellaneous customs and the port books in the Public Record Office. Professor Harte lists the ships of the port of Exeter trading with Newfoundland from 1563 to 1600.

INNIS, H. A. and PLUMPTRE, A. F. W. (eds.). *The Canadian economy and its problems: Papers and proceedings of study groups of members of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1933-1934*. Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 43 St. George Street. 1934. Pp. 356. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.

KNOX, F. A. *The nation's money* (Queen's quarterly, XLI (3), autumn, 1934, 289-306). Conclusions as to Canadian monetary policy based on views (expressed in the first part of the paper) on the present international economic position and its implications for monetary problems.

LOUNSBURY, RALPH GREENLEE. *The British fishery at Newfoundland, 1634-1763*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1934. Pp. x, 398. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.

MARIN, CHARLES HENRI. *Quelques observations sur l'économie canadienne* (Revue des sciences politiques, janv.-mars, 1934, 95-104).

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Tailles de compte* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (10), oct., 1934, 622-3). A note on the wooden tallies, which were used for keeping accounts in earlier days.

## (2) Agriculture

READEY, J. C. *A manual in Canadian agriculture*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. xvi, 299. (\$2.50) A book which aims to put into the hands of the teachers of the public schools of Canada a clear, concise explanation of some of the principles which underlie the problem of Canadian farm life.

## (3) Communications

BENNETT, JAMES D. *The Hudson Bay route* (Nineteenth century, CXVI (691), Sept., 1934, 247-57). A discussion of the Hudson Bay route and its practical use as a trade route, with an analysis of the reactions on Hudson Bay trade of the world depression.

BOWKER, C. G. *The Grand Trunk Western (Across the system)* (Canadian National Railways magazine, XX (9), Sept., 1934, 6-7). A description of the line which makes it possible for the Canadian National, in conjunction with connecting railways, to handle traffic moving between Chicago, points west and south thereof, and eastern Canadian and United States territory.

DEVENISH, W. R. *The Manitoba district (Across the system)* (Canadian National Railways magazine, XX (10), Oct., 1934, 8-9).

- GALE, GEORGE. *Early steamships in Quebec* (Quebec, IX (7), Aug., 1934, 112, 115-6).
- IRELAND, TOM. *The Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Deep Waterway to the sea*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1934. Pp. 223. (\$2.00) To be reviewed later.
- MUNRO, W. I. *Alberta district (Across the system)* (Canadian National Railways magazine, XX (11), Nov., 1934, 8-9).
- Les routes de Québec: Autrefois et aujourd'hui* (Le nouvelliste, Three Rivers, July 28, 1934, 30).
- S., H. A. *The St. Lawrence Waterway Treaty (British year book of international law, Oxford Press, 1934, 150-1)*. Some comparisons and reflections suggested by the rejection of the St. Lawrence Waterway Treaty by the United States senate.

#### (4) Geography

- [INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY COMMISSION.] *Joint report upon the survey and demarcation of the boundary between the United States and Canada from the source of the St. Croix River to the Atlantic Ocean*. Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1934. Pp. xiv, 318. The fifth of a series of seven final reports on the survey and demarcation of the several sections of the international boundary line between Canada and the United States and Canada and Alaska. That part of the boundary through the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes was reported upon by the International Waterways Commission under the terms of the treaty of 1908. This volume contains an historical sketch, numerous illustrations, detailed descriptions, and finely executed maps.
- KENSIT, H. E. M. *The world's great cataracts* (Canadian geographical journal, IX (3), Sept., 1934, 147-55). Includes a description of Grand Falls, Hamilton River, Labrador and of Niagara Falls.

- LE NORMAND, MICHELLE. *Faisons un beau voyage* (Canada français, XXII (2), oct., 1934, 127-35). Descriptive appreciation of Percé, Gaspé, and the Bay of Chaleurs.

#### (5) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, and Population

- BLANCHARD, R. *Le retour à la terre au Canada français* (Journal des économistes, Paris, CIII, 1933, 522-4). An account of the success of the ten-year old colonization policy of the Province of Quebec.
- GATES, PAUL WALLACE. *The Illinois Central Railroad and its colonization work*. (Harvard economic studies, XLII.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1934. Pp. xiii, 374. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- GLENDINNING, ROBERT M. *The distribution of population in the Lake St. John lowland, Quebec* (Geographical review, XXIV, April, 1934, 232-7).
- GOLD, NORMAN LEON. *Net emigration from the United States to Canada: 1909-1931*. (Reprinted from the Journal of the American Statistical Association, Sept., 1934, 282-7). The object of this paper is to determine the net emigration from the United States to Canada, with the aid of statistics which have been made available since 1909.
- LANGLOIS, GEORGES. *Histoire de la population canadienne-française*. (Documents historiques.) Montréal: Éditions Albert Lévêque. 1934. Pp. 309. (\$1.25) To be reviewed later.
- *La réserve Québécoise* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, 20ème année, no. 79, sept., 1934, 263-82). A study in population in the Province of Quebec during the French and English régimes.
- PETERSEN, WILLIAM J. *Population advance to the upper Mississippi valley, 1830-1860* (Iowa journal of history and politics, XXXII (4), Oct., 1934, 312-53). Traces the tide of migration to the Old North-west over land and over the routes of the St. Lawrence River, the Erie Canal, the Pennsylvania Canal, and the Mississippi River.

STEVENSON, J. A. *French and English in Canada* (Nineteenth century, CXVI (692), Oct., 1934, 403-14). An appraisal of the effects upon the racial question of the decline in immigration in the last few years. Mr. Stevenson's conclusion is that under present conditions the French-Canadian stock of the dominion is rapidly overhauling the British in point of numbers and, in the absence of a revival of immigration, is bound to exceed it within a century.

VANIER, G. P. *Canada: Her past and her prospects* (United empire, XXV (9), Sept., 1934, 523-4). A summary of an address by the secretary to the Canadian high commissioner's office, to the Royal Empire Society's summer school at Oxford, which deals with population, immigration, etc.

## V. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

CROWE, SIBYL. *The teaching of empire history in schools* (United empire, XXV (8), Aug., 1934, 466-9). A plea for the teaching of the history of imperial development and relations in the schools of England, which could also apply to the dominions.

DAVID, L. ATHANASE. *Educational institutions of Quebec* (Quebec, IX (5), June, 1934, 66-9). A résumé of the character, facilities, purposes, and accomplishments of the School of Higher Commercial Studies and L'École Polytechnique in Montreal, the technical schools of Montreal, Quebec, and Hull, and the schools of fine arts in Montreal and Quebec. Reprinted from the *Montreal Gazette*.

*A list of international fellowships for research.* Second edition (revised and amplified). London: The International Federation of University Women, Crosby Hall, Cheyne Walk, S.W. 3. 1934. Pp. 187. (2s.) "The intention of this pamphlet is to place at the disposal of students, in a readily accessible form, information which will enable them to pursue post-graduate work in foreign countries." The list is divided into three parts: part I, containing the fellowships which are open to graduates of all countries, irrespective of nationality; part II, containing fellowships for study abroad which are open to students from specified countries; part III containing fellowships for study abroad which are restricted to students of a specified country. (Fellowships which are available only for American graduates are not included, as a complete list of such fellowships and scholarships is published by the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York.) Information is given concerning the duration and value of the fellowships, conditions attached to them, place of application, etc. The second edition has been carefully revised, re-arranged, and indexed.

SCHAPIRO, Dr. YIRCHOK. *Di Nazional-Ekonomise Badeitung Funm Yidishn Derziungs Problem*. Montreal: Published by the Jewish National Workers Alliance, 4435 St. Lawrence Blvd. 1934. Pp. 14. (10 cents) The contents of this Yiddish pamphlet, of which the English title would be "The national economic aspect of the Jewish educational problem", were originally prepared and delivered as an address for the convention of the Canadian Jewish Congress, held in Toronto, on January 28, 1934. Dr. Schapiro, a principal of a Yiddish school in Montreal, has very ably presented the various reasons which necessitate a Jewish education in Canada, and stresses its present poor conditions, the remedies for which he presents on pages 12 and 13. He states, that Yiddish and Hebrew institutions of learning are maintained in Canada, not so much by the financial support of the parents, as by the heroic efforts of the teachers. If Jewish education is as neglected all over Canada as it is in Montreal, where, as Dr. Schapiro states, out of 15,000 school children, only about 3,000 have any Jewish education whatever, then we shall soon reach a stage when it will be necessary to advertise to find a man capable of reading this valuable pamphlet, a translation of which should appear in some English educational magazine. (ANDREW A. MARCHBIN)

TINKLER, FRED E. and ARMSTRONG, J. H. *Manual for the topical study of Canadian history*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1933. Pp. 30. (25 cents) This manual, which has been planned to assist teachers and pupils in the study of *The story Canada* by G. M. Wrong, C. Martin, and W. N. Sage (Toronto, 1929), the authorized text in Canadian history in Manitoba, consists of a topical outline of study. The text provides notes, aids, and tests, and several charts and diagrams to assist teachers.

*The University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada*, part 3 (Municipal review of Canada, XXX (3), March, 1934, 6-9). The third instalment of a history of the university.

VALLÉE, HENRI. *L'enseignement aux Trois-Rivières* (Le nouvelliste, Three Rivers, July 28, 1934, 14).

## VI. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

BONNAULT, CLAUDE de. *La vie religieuse dans les paroisses rurales canadiennes au XVIIIe siècle: Les curés* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (11), nov., 1934, 645-75). A carefully documented paper read on May 23, 1934, at the Institut Catholique de Paris, at a meeting of the first Congrès d'histoire ecclésiastique.

CORBETT, E. A. *McQueen of Edmonton*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1934. Pp. vii, 125. (\$1.25; de luxe edition, \$2.00) A biography of a clergyman and educationalist, the Rev. Dr. David George McQueen, pioneer of the west, who for forty-three years was minister of the First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton.

DIMMITT, L. M. *The Reverend Father Blanchet, 1818-1906 (Missions des Oblats de Marie Immaculée)* (Washington historical quarterly, XXV (4), Oct., 1934, 294-6). A brief synopsis of his work at Vancouver, Esquimalt, New Westminster, Fort Rupert, Stuart Lake, etc.

DUCHAUSOIS, R. P. *Aventures canadiennes des Soeurs Grises*. (Collection "Les bonnes lectures".) Paris: Flammarion. 1934. Pp. xvi, 95. (3 fr. 95) A reprint of the author's *Femmes héroïques* (Paris, édition Spes).

ECKSTORM, FANNIE HARDY. *The attack on Norridgewock* (New England quarterly, VII (3), Sept., 1934, 541-78). The purpose of this paper is to expose a fiction about Father Sebastian Rasles, built up after his death by French authorities for political purposes.

GAMMIE, ALEXANDER. *Rev. John McNeill: His life and work*. London, Glasgow, Edinburgh: Pickering and Inglis. N.d. Pp. 277. (5s.) A biography of the Rev. John McNeill, well-known Scottish preacher and evangelist (1854-1933) and a sympathetic account of his ministry in London, Edinburgh, and Liverpool, his various evangelistic campaigns, and his work during the Great War. Mr. McNeill came to Canada in 1912 and for two years was minister of Cooke's Presbyterian Church in Toronto. His work in Toronto is briefly but vividly sketched. The author has used Mr. McNeill's personal papers and correspondence, and he gives an appreciative estimate of McNeill's character and humour and of his genius as a preacher.

HAYES, A. P. *Canada*. (S.P.G. handbooks, new series.) [London:] The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 15 Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W. 1. 1934. Pp. [vi], 83. (30 cents) A sketch of the history and organization of the Church of England in Canada, with a résumé of the history of Canada, written with a view to informing the church in England about the needs of, and conditions in, the Canadian church.

Jacques Buteux: *Le premier évangéliste de la région du St-Maurice (1634-1652)*. (Pages trifluviennes, série B, no. 6.) Les Trois-Rivières. Le Bien Public. 1934. Pp. 93. The above pamphlet consists of reprints of a journal and letters of a Jesuit missionary, Father Jacques Buteux, as well as other material supplied by, or relating to him, which are to be found in the *Jesuit relations*. Their present interest is due to the fact that he was the first missionary to be stationed at Three Rivers and also the first European to explore the St. Maurice region. Father Buteux reached Three Rivers a few months after its foundation and was killed by the Iroquois, in 1652, in the course of a voyage he was taking with a view of reaching Hudson Bay. The journal is edited with useful notes by MM. Denoncourt and Desilets, but the accompanying map is rather insufficient. (G. LANCTOT)

- JAMET, DOM ALBERT. *La biographie des premières missionnaires de la Nouvelle-France* (Canada français, XXII (1), sept., 1934, 7-34). An essay on hagiography in general and on the writing of the biographies of Jeanne Mance, Marguerite Bourgeoys, etc., in particular.
- MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Sainte-Geneviève-de-Batiscan* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (10), oct., 1934, 638-40). A list of the curates and curés of Ste-Geneviève-de-Batiscan in Champlain County, P.Q., from 1723 to the present day.
- MUSSEN, JOSEPH M. *The Church of Saint Mark, A.D. 1792, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, Canada*. Niagara-on-the-Lake: The Niagara Advance. 1934. Pp. 40. A brief and interesting description and history of the Parish of Saint Mark and its picturesque old church, together with a prefatory chapter on the early settlement of the town and district.
- PATSTONE, ARTHUR J. *A short history of St. Paul's Church, Newmarket, Ontario*. Foreword by the Bishop of Toronto. Published by General Board of Religious Education of the Church of England in Canada. [1934.] Pp. 16. An interesting account (with a number of illustrations) of the history of St. Paul's Anglican Church in Newmarket, written by the rector on the occasion of the centenary celebration of the building of the first church on this site. The proceeds of the sale of the history will be devoted to church funds.
- PIPES, NELLIE B. (ed.). *Journal of John H. Frost, 1840-43* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXV (3), Sept., 1934, 235-62). The third instalment of the journal of one of the Methodist missionaries sent to Oregon in 1840. In this issue he describes a trip from Clatsop Plains to the mission on the Willamette.
- WATTS, J. R. *Fifty years of rural Canada: Summary of surveys, Dufferin County, Ont., Cumberland County, N.S., District of Hamiota, Man.* [Toronto:] Published by the Board of Home Missions. September, 1933. Pp. 53. The Board of Home Missions of the United Church of Canada had for three years a commission studying the rural situation in Canada, in connection with the difficulties of the country church. Professor Watts of Queen's Theological College, Kingston, has made thorough surveys of typical communities in the east, the centre, and the west. This booklet is a digest of his three surveys and it contains interesting data and statistics under the headings: "The changing times", "Agriculture—a business and a life", "The farm and educational opportunity", and "The church, its organization and work".
- VII. GENEALOGY**
- BERNEVAL. *La famille Rivard* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (9), sept., 1934, 571-3). A study of the origin of the family of Mgr F. X. Lacoursière.
- BRAULT, LUCIEN. *Réponse: Hiram Blanchard* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (11), nov., 1934, 701-4). Genealogical facts about the Blanchard family of Nova Scotia.
- La famille Aubrenan ou Aubry* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (11), nov., 1934, 641-4).
- MARTIN, ALBERTUS. *La famille Beaudouin* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (11), nov., 1934, 693-700). Information concerning Gervais Beaudouin, who came to Quebec in 1682, and his descendants.
- ROY, P. G. *La famille Chaussegros de Lery* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (10), oct., 1934, 577-614).
- *La famille Just* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (10), oct., 1934, 615-6).
- *La famille Martel de Brouage* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (9), sept., 1934, 513-49). A genealogical study with biographical notes and documents.
- *La famille Sevestre* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (10), oct., 1934, 630-7).

- ROY, RÉGIS. *Cuthbert* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (10), oct., 1934, 627-9). Genealogy of the Cuthbert family, seigneurs of Berthier.

### VIII. BIBLIOGRAPHY

BERCAW, LOUISE O., HANNAY, A. M., and COLVIN, ESTHER M. (comps.). *Bibliography on land settlement with particular reference to small holdings and subsistence homesteads*. Compiled under the direction of MARY G. LACY. (United States Department of Agriculture, Miscellaneous publication no. 172.) Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1934. Pp. iv, 492. (50 cents) In this bibliography are collected those references to agricultural land settlement in the United States, and in other countries, which will be useful primarily to students interested in the literature of subsistence homesteads, small holdings, and land settlement as relief for unemployment, and which are, for the most part, on file in the libraries of the United States department of agriculture and of congress. Many references to publications on the general subject of land settlement, however, have been included. The bibliography is divided into three parts: general references on land settlement, land settlement in the United States, and land settlement in foreign countries. A section is devoted to Canada, under the headings "General", "Soldier settlement", and "Back-to-the-land movement, 1931-33". On account of the purpose and plan which the compilers had in mind, we cannot expect the Canadian section to be a complete bibliography of material on land settlement in Canada. A number of historical studies have been omitted and we notice that very few French-Canadian titles have been included. Full bibliographical details and excellent notes, which describe briefly and clearly the scope of each entry, are provided. The author and subject index is a complete detailed guide to the wealth of material in the volume.

*Catalogue of the exhibition of historical records in the Archives of the court house and of ancient documents and books of the advocates' library, Montreal, under the auspices of the Montreal bar on the occasion of the annual meeting of the Canadian Bar Association held in Montreal, September 5, 6 and 7th 1934.* Pp. 24. A catalogue listing some interesting Canadian documents and incunabula.

CLOUGH, SHEPARD B. *Present trends in French historical writing* (Columbia University quarterly, XXVI (2), June, 1934, 163-6). A scholarly analysis of the conflicting approaches and methods of leading contemporary historians, concluding that they have emerged "with an eclectic formula of realism and materialism". (T. H. LEDUC)

[COLUMBIA LIBRARY CLUB (comp.).] *Index to the Missouri historical review, volumes I-XXV, 1906-1931.* Columbia, Missouri: Published by the State Historical Society of Missouri. 1934. Pp. 353. (\$5.00) An analytical guide to the historical, biographical, and genealogical material in the *Review*, which is, in effect, an index to the history and biography of Missouri.

*A joint catalogue of the periodicals and serials in the libraries of the city of Toronto.* Toronto: Printed and published by the king's printer. 1934. Pp. 263. This edition, like the first joint catalogue published in 1898, has been prepared under the joint editorship of the chief librarian of the Toronto public library and the librarian of the University of Toronto. The actual preparation for the press has been done by Miss Doris Shiell of the University of Toronto library. The catalogue follows in arrangement and style the *Union list of serials in the libraries of Canada and the United States* published in 1928. Listing as it does the periodical holdings of 18 libraries in Toronto, the 1934 edition of the joint catalogue will be of inestimable value to all research students. The volume is not well printed or bound.

[MCGILL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY SCHOOL.] *Quebec in books.* Compiled by the class of 1934 for the fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Library Association, Montreal, June 25-30, 1934. Montreal: The Unity Press. 1934. Pp. 56. A reading list which was compiled with the special purpose of introducing the members of the American Library Association to the Province of Quebec. The list is divided into regions and for each region is included the historical background, the folk-lore, a description, a guide-book, and some literary production that has its setting in the district. There are also brief lists on French-Canadian architecture and handicraft.

Full bibliographical details and a critical note are given about each work and there is an index of books. The McGill University Library School is to be congratulated on the excellent series of bibliographies which it is publishing under the direction of Miss Marion V. Higgins.

McMURTRIE, DOUGLAS C. *Pamphlets and books printed in Buffalo prior to 1850: Being a supplement to the list compiled by Dr. F. H. SEVERANCE and published in the Buffalo Historical Society Publications, volume VI, appendix A, 1903.* (Grosvenor Library bulletin, XVI (4), June, 1934.) Buffalo: Grosvenor Library. 1934. Pp. 57-107. Of special interest are the many early guide-books, including guides to the Old North-west, to Niagara Falls, and to Canada. Mr. McMurtrie gives the location of the titles described and very full bibliographical descriptions and notes.

NORBY, CHARLES H. and WYMAN, WALKER D. (comps.). *A topical guide to the Mississippi valley historical review, volumes I-XIX, 1914-1932 and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association proceedings, volumes I-XI, 1907-1924.* Compiled under the direction of LOUIS PELZER. Mississippi Valley Historical Association. 1934. Pp. 88. (\$1.00) This index to the valuable material published by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association has been planned primarily as a reference guide to articles relating to the west, and part I on "The history of the west" comprises much the largest part of the book. It is divided into sections under topical headings which indicate important phases of western development—i.e. "Discovery and exploration", "Struggle for possession", "The Indian", "The military frontier", "Land", "Settlement, beginnings and development", "Trade", "Transportation and communication", etc., and these sections are subdivided into regional divisions. Part II, "The national scene", contains a section on foreign affairs and foreign policy, and part III is entitled "The historical profession". There is an index of names. The guide will be of great value to students and teachers of the history of the west.

STOCK, LEO F. (comp.). *A list of American periodicals and serial publications in the humanities and social sciences* (American Council of Learned Societies, bulletin no. 21, March, 1934, pp. 130). In *Bulletin* 4 (June, 1925) the American Council of Learned Societies printed a "List of American journals devoted to the humanistic and social sciences". This list, revised to date, was reprinted in *Bulletin* 8 (October, 1928). The present list is more inclusive, its purpose being to give some information respecting the serial publications, as well as the periodical journals, issued in the same fields by the learned societies and institutions of the United States. The arrangement is alphabetical both as to society or institution and the publications under each. The date of the establishment of each publication and journal is given, together with a note describing its type and scope, and giving the name and address of its editor and publisher. There is also a classified list under subject-headings of the titles of periodicals described. The compilation has been carefully made and very intelligently put together, so that it is extremely clear and easy to use. It will be a reference work of inestimable value to students and to libraries and societies.

SYKES, W. J. *Canada, a reading list.* Third printing. Ottawa: Carnegie Public Library. November, 1933. Pp. 23. A basis for general reading on Canadian history, economics, literature, etc.

TROTTER, REGINALD GEORGE. *Canadian history: A syllabus and guide to reading.* New and enlarged edition. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. xiv, 193. (\$1.75) Reviewed on page 436.

## IX. ART AND LITERATURE

AMOS, L. A. *Architecture of Quebec Province* (Quebec, IX (4), May, 1934, 54-5).

B, St. G. *Maurice Cullen, painter of beauty* (Quebec, IX (3), April, 1934, 46-8). A sketch of the life and work of Maurice Cullen, R.C.A., 1866-1934. Reprinted from the *Montreal Gazette*.



- BERIAU, O. A. *Domestic crafts in Quebec* (Quebec, IX (3), April, 1934, 36-8).
- BIRON, HERVÉ. *Le journalisme trifluvien* (Le nouvelliste, Three Rivers, July 28, 1934, 2, 4, 6). Some notes on the lives and works of Ludger Duvernay, Benjamin Sulte, Antoine Gérin-Lajoie, Nérée Beauchemin, Edmond de Nevers.
- BURON, EDMOND. *La Chasse Gallery* (Canada français, XXII (1), sept., 1934, 78-86; XXII (2), oct. 1934, 166-75). An analysis of the origins of, and elements in, a well-known French-Canadian legend.
- CARON, NAPOLEON. *Légendes des vieilles forges* (Le nouvelliste, Three Rivers, July 28, 1934, 8, 10, 12, 14). Legends of the Saint Maurice forges.
- DEAN, HECTOR. *An aspect of art and literature in Quebec* (Quebec, IX (5), June, 1934, 72-4). A note on painting, sculpture, architecture, handicrafts, and literature in the Province of Quebec. Reprinted from the *Merchant adventurer*.
- HÉBERT, MAURICE. *La littérature de la langue française au Canada* (Canada français, XXII (1), sept., 1934, 69-77). An address on the origin of French-Canadian literature and the sources of its inspiration.
- KIRKCONNELL, WATSON. *Icelandic-Canadian poetry* (Dalhousie review, XIV (3), Oct., 1934, 331-44).
- MORISSET, GÉRARD. *La collection Desjardins et les peintures de L'École canadienne à Saint-Roch de Québec* (Canada français, XXII (2), oct., 1934, 115-26). One of a series of articles on the Desjardins collection of paintings.
- PECK, M. A. *Handicrafts from coast to coast* (Canadian geographical journal, IX (4), Oct., 1934, 201-16). An account of the history and the work of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild. With a number of interesting illustrations.
- SHOOLMAN, REGINA LENORE. *Cornelius Krieghoff* (Canadian forum, XV (170), Nov., 1934, 66-8). A consideration of the work and inspiration of Cornelius Krieghoff, "the direct forerunner of the modern movement in Canadian art".

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